HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

VOLUME V.

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BOOK XM.

THOUGH the taking of Fort St. Elmo had cost the insidels one of their generals and the choicest of their troops, John De La yet, nevertheless, great as their loss VALETTE. was, that of the order, in the vigorous defence it made, was not less considerable in proportion. Tis computed that one hundred and thirty knights, and above one thousand three hundred men lost their lives in this particular siege; and the cruelties which the Turks had exercised at the conclusion of it, had thrown the rest into a kind of consternation. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at so great a Vol. V.

lofs, but very prudently diffembled his concern; and, in order to encourage fome knights, whom he observed to be feized with a kind of terror, he fummoned a general and extraordinary affembly of all fuch knights as could be spared from their posts, and who could attend without prejudice to the security of the place. When appearing among them with his usual constancy, and a magnanimity that was superior to all events. he began his discourse with a panegyric upon those knights who had been killed on this occasion, afferting, that as they had generously facrificed their lives in defence of the faith, they had lived enough for their glory and their falvation. He went on in recommending their zeal and courage to the affembly, as a fit pattern for them to imitate; and in order to inspire them with recruited ardour, and animate them with greater confidence, he represented to them, that the knights whom they had loft, had not been fo much overcome by the valour, as overwhelmed by the multitudes of infidels: but that now the number of their merciles enemies was confiderably diminished; that their army was wasting away continually with the bloody flux, and other contagious distempers with which it was infected; that they began to be in want of ammunition and provisions, and that though they had fent to the coasts of Africa, to Greece, and into the archipelago for fresh supplies, yet they had no news of the return of their thips: neither did the fort which they had taken give them any manner of advantage over the town and other fortresses which were situated at a distance from it; that all the forces of the order were thut up in these places; that succours might be thrown into them without any difficulty; and, in fine, that he hoped either to give the Turks battle, or to make them all lose their lives before the bastions and other fortifications.

This discourse, which he pronounced with an heroic affurance, the fire which sparkled in his eyes, and the sense they had of his valour and capacity, all these circumstances raised the spirits, and confirmed the confidence

fidence of the affembly, and not a knight of them but protested solemnly, that he would fight to the last drop of his blood for the defence of the island, and the pre-

fervation of the order.

'Twas with a sensible pleasure that the grand master perceived all his knights inspired with the same sentiments as himself; and, in order to animate the common foldiers with the fame bravery, he vifited every post, when, addressing himself to them with a familiarity that was very engaging; "We are, fays he, (my brave comrades) the foldiers of the LORD JESUS as well as you, and if you should have the misfortune to lose us and all your officers, I am thoroughly or persuaded, that you will still fight on with the same intrepidity and refolution, and that your own cou-" rage will in that case supply the defect of orders." Therefore, to reinforce and raise the confidence of his troops, he drew four companies out of the Notable city, which was in lefs danger from the Turks, and brought them into the Town. He chose, at the same time, four of the principal commanders, whom he made captains of referve, to be ready to run on all occasions to such places as should be most in danger. Each of these commanders had ten knights, subject to his particular orders, who were to serve in quality of aids de camp; and he afterwards nominated three others to act as serjeant-majors of the place. Although he had got a prodigious quantity of provisions, yet he took care of their being distributed with occonomy, and ordered all the corn and wine that was in private hands to be brought into the public magazines, paying the price thereof to the proprietors.

AFTER these regulations, so truly worthy of a great general, his next step was to forbid the making of any prisoners for the future, giving express orders, that, atter having got out of them all the informations possible relating to the basha's designs, they would put them all to the sword, and not give them the least quarter. The motive of this rigour was, not only to shew the Turks that they durst revenge the cruelies which

they had exercised upon the knights of the fort, but likeways to put his own soldiers and the inhabitants, whatever extremes they might be reduced to, out of all hopes of capitulating, and to make them sensible, that their own preservation and that of the place were inse-

parable.

THE basha, who knew nothing of this desperate resolution, and vainly flattered himself that the grand mafter and the knights, startled at their late loss, might hearken to a capitulation with pleasure, fent an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town. He had with him a Christian slave, in quality of an interpreter, and had orders to try if the grand master, was disposed to enter into a negotiation; but he was refused admittance into the town. The flave however, who had served thirty years on board the grand seignior's gallies, was admitted in, and brought to la Valette, whom he met in the great square; but, at the first word he mentioned about capitulating, the grand mafter, without hearing a fyllable more, ordered him to be immediately hanged. However, he privately told the knight, who was appointed to fee his execution performed, that he should only frighten him with it, and that when he had got from him all possible informations relating to the state of the Turkish army, and the delign of the basha, he should afterwards let him

They found that this flave was a poor fellow, seventy years old, whom they had released from the gallies for the sake only of sending him upon so dangerous a commission, and that he was entirely ignorant of the projects of the Turkish general. They offered to keep him with them in the town; but as he was persuaded that the insidels would soon be masters of it, when he was afraid he should be treated as a deserter, he chose rather to return back to his slavery, than to have only a taste, as he thought, of a precarious liberty, which, if he should lose a second time, would be attended with the most dreadful torments; for which reasons he desired leave to be gone. The knight, who

had orders to let him out of town, led him through feveral lines of foldiers, who had been commanded to appear there under arms; and when he had conducted him to the counterfcarp, he shewed him the bulwarks and bastions of the place, when pointing particularly to the ditch, which was very deep, "See there, " says he to him, the only spot we can afford the ba-"sha, and we reserve it in order to bury him in it,

" with all his janizaries."

THE basha saw plainly, by the bold answer which he had given the flave, that there would be no redueing the island but by force of arms. He therefore ordered his troops to invest, on the land side, the castle of St. Angelo, the town, and the peninfula de la Sangle, which formerly went by the name of the town and eaftle of St. Michael, all fituated upon two necks of land that run out into the great port, and which are divided from one another only by a channel, that ferved for a port appropriated to the gallies of the order. The army of the infidels extended itself from the hill or rock of Coradin, and from Bormole, a kind of fort contiguous to the town of St. Michael, as far as mount St. Margaret, and the Belvedera, where the basha had fixed his own quarters. They then began to open the trenches, and in such places as they could not dig, by reason of the hardness of the rock, the basha made them build walls of dry stone. He resolved to batter at one and the same time the town and the peninsula on which the castle of St. Michael, then called the Isle de la Sangle, stood; for which purpose the christian slaves were employed in drawing feventy pieces of heavy cannon to the feveral places where he proposed to erect his batteries, of which at last he had no less than

WHILST the Turks were thus busied in carrying on their works, Don John de Cardonna before mentioned, who commanded the four gallies which were sent with succours, appeared again near Malta, in order to endeayour to learn, pursuant to his instructions, if Fort St. Elmo still held out. He had before made some at-

tempts to land his men; but the bad weather, or perhaps the fear with which he was feized, had rendered them ineffectual; but now he put colonel Robles, and the chevalier de Quiney ashore, with a sinall party for their guard. The colonel, out of complaifance to the fentiments of his general, had constantly maintained, in all the councils of war, that it would be impoffible for them to take too much precaution about a landing, and was on that account highly in his confidence. They were no fooner come ashore, but they were informed by some poor inhabitants, who had hid themselves in the holes of the neighbouring rocks, that This was enough to make him rethe fort was loft. imbark without more ado, but the chevalier de Quiney earnestly diffuading from it, and his own courage inspiring him with a resolution of contributing to the relief of Malta, he resolved to conceal the truth from Don John, and to engage him to land immediately the troops that were on board his gallies. With this view. and for fear left his foldiers should, at their return, acquaint Don John with the loss of the fort, he fent them to the Notable city, which was of easy access, under pretence of bringing guides and horses from thence, in order to conduct the fuccours to the town; by the Tame express he informed the governor, that he was going to land the troops in the road of Pietra Nigra, that he should detain the soldiers who should deliver him his letter, and fend him other guides to lead the fuccours to the town, with conveniencies to carry the baggage. After this he went on board again with Quiney, and both of them joined in telling the general an uleful untruth, affuring him that the fort still held out. but that they had been informed there was no hopes of faving it without immediate succours; for which reafon they had fent the foldiers to the city, in order to bring them carriages from thence. Cardonna, still unresolved what to do, would fain have put off the landing a little longer, but the knights, and about forty gentlemen that were on board his galley, exclaimed fo much against it, and the very soldiers discovered so much

much eagerness and zeal to be fighting with the infidels, that Don John out of fear of their resentment, and of his being exposed to the reproach of the world, by the complaints which they threatned to make against him, was forced to put them ashore. Accordingly they landed in the creek of Pietra Nigra, and Cardonna had no sooner discharged this part of his commission, but he sailed with his four gallies for Sicily.

THE difficulty was how to get this small succour into the town, the insidels having invested and blocked it up on the land side. The grand master having advice of their landing from Mesquita, had sent them guides to conduct them through by-roads to the port or road Della Scala, with assurances that they would meet with boats ready to transport them safe over to the town. They set out immediately, and, taking the advantage of a great fog, they got safe to the port Della Scala, without being discovered; when getting on board, they crossed the great port, and arrived at the town, where they were welcomed by the knights and soldiers, with all the expressions of joy that were due to their zeal, and answerable to the want they stood in of such a reinforcement.

THE isle de la Sangle, with the castle and town. which was the weakest part of it, and that against which the Turks employed their greatest efforts, was the post which colonel Robles and the generality of the knights and fecular gentlemen, earnestly follicited the grand mafter to give them; who accordingly at their requests were sent thither. They had planted several batteries at the hermitage, and on mount Sceberras. which played continually on the place, and another was raised upon mount Coradin, which lay so high, that it commanded it like a cavalier, so that they from thence, could eafily see every thing that passed within. The basha, in order to straiten it still more, made an intrenchment before the Coradin rock, of a height sufficient to cover those who were posted there. The belieged were now that up on all fides, except towards the port and the sea: the basha therefore, in order to

cut off this communication, which might be of service to them in introducing fuccours, and to invest the Christians on all fides, proposed, in a council of war, the attacking of the great Spur, on the point of the Peninfula. For the execution of this project, they were under an absolute necessity of bringing a considerable number of boats, well armed and provided with foldiers, into the great port; but they represented to him. that, belides the chain which went cross the mouth of the port it would be impossible for those boats to make their way without their being exposed to the danger of being shattered to pieces and funk by the artillery of the caltle of St. Angelo, which commanded and played upon all that part of the port of that they would have given over the delign, had not the Turkith admiral found out a way to bring the boats into the great port. without their passing under the castle of St. Angelo. As he was master of port Musset, which was dividedfrom the great port only by the neck of land of mount Sceberras, on which the fort of St. Elmo flood, he undertook to make the Christian slaves, and the crew of his gallies, draw a sufficient number of boats cross this neck of land, by the strength of their arms, and to launch them in the great port; after which, they might put a body of foldiers and arquebusiers on board them, in order to attack the Spur on the fide towards the mills. at the same time that the land army should attempt a from on that fide where the castle lay.

THE council highly applauded this expedient, the which, as the knights had been no ways apprehensive of it, might probably have occasioned the loss of those works, had it not been for a Turkish officer, a Christian, and a Greek by birth, who having been present at the council, and being touched with a sudden remorse of conscience, was resolved to get over to the island, and to run the hazard of his life in giving the governor notice of it. This officer was called Lascaris, of the illustrious house of that name, which had given several emperors to the east. The Turks, at the taking of Patras, a town of the Morea, had made him

a flave,

a flave, at a time when he was fo very young, that he was hardly fensible of the mifery of his condition. They brought him up in the Turkish religion, and out of some regard to his high extraction, great care was taken of his education. He ferved in his early youth among the Spahi, and by his valour, had raised himself to the first posts in that body of cavalry. His thoughts had perhaps hitherto been employed only in the making of his fortune, but the fight of Maka, ready to fink under the power of the infidels, revived in his memory the indelible character of a Christian, which he had received at his baptism. The heroic valour, of which the knights daily gave such distinguished proofs, raised his compassion; and he could not forbear reproaching himself for fighting on the side of barbarians, who had put most of the princes of his family to death, and had forced the rest, since the taking of Constantinople, to fly for refuge into foreign countries. Full of these different reflections, he goes down to the fea fide, to a place that lay directly opposite to the Spur of St. Michael, . where waving his turbant, he made figns for them to fend a boat to carry him over to the island. A knight named Savoguerre, who commanded at the point of the fort, feeing by the rich cloaths he had on, that he was a considerable officer, gave immediate advice of it to the grand master, and desired leave to send a skiff for him, which was readily granted. But before the soldier, whom he had dispatched to the town, could return, some Turks observing Lascaris making his fignals, and judging from thence that he intended to defert, and go over to the Christians, they ran to seize him. Though he scarce knew how to swim, he yet, to prevent his being taken, threw himself into the sea; and of two inevitable dangers, he preferred that in which he might possibly be succoured. Savoguerre, who had never taken his eyes off him, observing from the other fide the difficulty he had to cross over, immediately fent off three Maltefe, who were excellent fwimmers, who came up to him when his strength was almost exhausted, and by their affistance he got fafe to

shore. After they had made him throw up the water he had swallowed, they conducted him to the grand master, whom he acquanted with the basha's and admiral's projects, and shewed, at the same time, the several places where they proposed to erect their batteries. The grand master, who was thoroughly sensible of the great importance of these advices, extolled the generous resolution he had taken to hazard his life for the safety of the Christians, and therefore settled a large pension on him; and Lascaris, during the time the siege lasted, made it manifest, by his bravery and counsels, that he had no way degenerated from the virtue of his ancestors.

THE grand mafter was at first struck with the admiral's bold and difficult defign; but afterwards recovering from his surprise, he set himself about defeating the fuccess of it. For this end, he fortified all those places towards the port, where the Turks, by the help of their boats, might possibly make a descent. He likewife ordered the walls of the town of St. Michael to be raised higher, and lined the shore with several pieces of cannon, in order to clear the port of every enemy that should appear. As their chief business was to hinder the Turks from advancing up to the walls of St. Michael, the grand master proposed that affair to the council; but as their opinions were different, and that he was perfuaded that even men, though of the greatest capacity, do not yet see into every thing, he did not disdain to confult two Maltese pilots, whom he had ever found to be, not only men of great capacity and experience in naval affairs, but who had likewife discovered the greatest zeal and fidelity for the order. He told them the defign of Turkish admiral, and asked them what they thought was to be done, in order to defeat it, and hinder the embarkation of the troops, which they had drawn down to the shore of mount Sceberras in the iffe de la Sangle. Both the pilots agreed in opinion, and told him, that it would be proper to make a staccado with piles drove into the fea. from the Coradin rock to the Spur, which was at the

point of the isle, and to fix iron rings to the top of these piles, and draw a long chain across to stop up the spaces between them: and whereas it would not be possible to drive in the piles in some places, by reason of the depth of the water, or the hardness of the rocky bottom, it would be necessary for them, in that case, to stop up the passage with their longest fail-yards and masts nailed together, which, with the chain, would make it alto-

gether impracticable.

The grand master laying their proposal before the council, it was unanimously approved of, and accordingly they set to work about it the night following. La Valette, who plainly perceived the great use of such a staccado, gave orders for the making of others, to hinder any landing on the side of the posts of England, Germany, and the great infirmary. He sikewise secured the post for the gallies with an iron chain, which was defended by several batteries on both sides. As the Turkish artillery did not allow them to carry on these works in the day time, they could only work at them by night: but the grand master, knowing of what importance they would be, employed so many hands about them, that in nine nights time all these staccado's and defences were finished.

THE basha was strangely surprised to see so many works rife up as it were on a fudden out of the fea, to oppose the passage of his boats and the descent of his troops; but as he was a man of true courage and great abilities, he would not give over his first project, and fancied he could find a way to carry off fome of the piles of the staccado, and by that means open a passage for his little fleet through the feveral gaps. For this end, some Turks, with axes at their girdles, fwam, by his orders, to the pallifado, got upon the fail-yards, and worked hard to cut them alunder. This could not be done without a noise, which soon discovered their defign; upon which they were immediately plied with cannon and musket-ball, but as the firing was made from an higher ground, and directed downwards, it did no execution. The admiral de Monte, who commanded Rated

manded in the island, seeing this had no effect, refolved to attack them in their own way, and for that purpole sent some Maltese foldiers, who were excellent swimmers, to them; these stripping themselves, and holding their fwords in their teeth, came up with the Turks, beat them off the flaccado, killed and wounded a good number of them, and purfued the reft, who made off as fast as possible, and got with great difficulty to the other fide of the port. They returned however the next day, and before they were perceived had tied some cables to the masts and fail-yards, which had been laid for the security of the pallilado, and endeavoured to move and carry off the piles by the force of the capstanes of their ships, which were placed on the shore. But all the Maltese were excellent swimmers. fo that they no fooner discovered this new kind of attack, but several Maltese, threw themselves into the water, and with their fabres cut all the cables, and baffled this second attempt of the basha.

AFTER these little attacks, which were of no very great consequence on either side, Mustapha, on the fifth of July began to fire from all his batteries together. That which was placed upon mount St. Margaret battered the quarter called la Bormole, and the bastion of Provence: but the officers of the artillery feeing it did little mischief, turned it against the fort of or castle St. Michael. The Turks had another upon the Coradin rock. which fired continually upon the baltion that lay over against them, and the cannon which they planted upon fort St. Elmo and mount Sceberras played upon the castle of St. Angelo. There were other batteries raised upon mount Salvator, that of Calcara, and on other eminences adjacent, which battered the great town, and the posts of Castile, Germany and England, That of Arragon was in a manner demolished already. these batteries, and those of the Christians which anfwered them, made such a dreadful and continual fire. that the island seemed to be a volcano, and looked like another mount Etna. The Turks, under cover of their artiflery, ran their trenches up to the ditch fide, but being

being stopped by a small redoubt that covered it, they battered that work with so much fury, that the knights sinding themselves unable to defend it any longer, blew

it up, and retired within the island.

THE point of land on which the calle and town of St. Michael stood, had no manner of communication with the great town and the castle of St. Angelo, and could get no succours from thence, but by means of a ferryboat, which being heavy, and its motion very flow. exposed all such as crossed over to the fire of the infidels. The grand master, by the advice of John Anthony Boso, a young knight, and brother to the annalist of the order, caused a bridge of his invention to be made of pipes and hogheads well pitched, which he afterwards covered over with planks. They placed it out of the reach of the fire of the enemies muskets. and as they run very nimbly upon it, they were not hurt by the fire of the artillery. This bridge proved afterwards very serviceable for the passage of those succours which they were obliged to fend to fort St. Michael.

THE Turks knowing it to be the weakest part in the whole island, plied it hard with cannon-shot. Nor did their batteries make less execution upon the great town: considerable breaches were soon made in some places, but the basha did not think sit to attempt a storm till after he had entirely ruined all the out-works; besides, he was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Hassan, viceroy of Algiers, who had sent him word, that he would immediately advance with a good reinforcement, composed of the slower of all his forces.

The grand master, surprised at his having no news of the viceroy of Sicily's armada, wrote in the strongest terms on that subject to the commander Salvago, who resided at his court, in order to hasten the succours. He was an able minister, and could not be reproached with either want of zeal and assiduity, or of remissiness in executing the several orders he received from the grand master. But he had to deal with a Vol. V.

broud and haughty Spaniard, with whom he thought himself obliged to observe certain measures for fear left he should ruin the affair by being too earnest in his follicitations, and by that means afford him the pretext he wanted in order to excuse himself from sending the foccours he had promifed. The grand mafter's letter, the dols of fort St. Elmo, and the danger to which the ifle de la Sangle was exposed, put him out of all patience; fo that he went without farther ceremony to the vicerov, and complained, in the grand malter's name, of his flowness in dispatching the succours; telling him moreover, that the bashe was laying close siege to the great town and the caftle of St. Michael at the fame time, and that his troops were already advanced up to the walls. Headded, in the utmost transports of zeal and orief, that Malta was on the point of being loft butthat all the nations of the Christian world would eternally reproach his memory, for having suffered the flower of all the gentry in Christendom, to be cut to pieces by his affected delays; and finding that the viceroy answered him only in general and ambiguous terms, he flung out of the palace, and coming up to the people who were affembled in the great square, the tried out, that Garsia was playing a double game, and that he, by his contimual shifts and evalions, was going to deliver up the grand mafter and his knights into the hands of the indelem-mo ada lla bosiur visulara basica valla di mossi

THE complaints of the agent of Malta were indeed but too well founded; but after all, the viceroy was not in reality fo much the author as the minister of these delays, he having received private orders not to be too forward; and indeed under a prince who was as imperious and fecret in all his actions as Philip II. and who facrificed every thing to appearances, he would have been equally ruined, had he either been too hasty in sending away the succours, or had let the world see that it was not in his power to send them whenever he pleased. However, finding that Salvage's complaints made a great impression upon the minds of the people, he said, to save his own reputation, that he

could not rashly expose his master's fleet, that he would ask the advice of fuch of his ministers and principal officers as were in Italy; that he would afterwards call a great council of war, when all the necesfary measures for sending immediately a strong body of troops to the relief of Malta should be adjusted. But this was far from being his real intention, much lefs that of the king his mafter, whose slow and uncertain policy put him always upon waiting for the benefit of time, which he often loft. Philip and his minister con tenting themselves with a vain oftentation of his forces. imagined that the bravery of the knights alone would be sufficient to baffle the enterprise of the Turks; and that at most they had no more to do, than to have the fuccours in a readiness to be sent off, in case they found that they were too closely attacked, and that there should be a real necessity for them. no Man a mago n

SUCH were the private views of the council of Spain. John Andrew Doria, who was not let into the fecret, and was at this time with his gallies in the port of Messina, offered the viceroy to transport two thousand men to Malta, till such time as all the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. He shewed him the way he would take to carry them, and said, that before the Turks could have weighed up their anchors, or have cut their cables, he, by the strength of oars, should be got into the great port as far as the castle of St. Angelo, and that, provided he could but land his troops and his crew, which would serve for soldiers and pioneers, he did not value if he afterwards

loft the bulks of his gallies, but lessens !

The viceroy at first applauded the generosity of the proposal, and came so far into the project, that he made Doria swear to put it immediately in execution; but whether it were from a secret jealously, for fear lest alk the honour of the enterprise should accrue to him, or else that he was not willing to engage in it; till such time as he had received fresh orders from Madrid, he sent Doria with his gallies to Genoa and the coast of Tuscany, on pretence of setching from thence some necessaries for this particular expedition, and by this fetch

cluded the opportunity of dividing his forces. However, as Salvago and a great number of knights, who were daily arriving from all parts of Christendom at Mesfina, in their passage to Malta, were continually solliciting for the faccours, he ordered two gallies to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to Pompeio Colonna, with a good number of knights on board. But whether it were that the commodore had private orders to run no hazard, or that he had not the same zeal to fuccour the grand master as Doria had, he advanced only at a certain distance from the great port, when finding the entrance of it shut up and guarded by the Turkish seet, he tacked about and came into the ports of Sicily, and at his return, reported to the viceroy, that he must absolutely have all his forces united in one body, otherwise it would be impossible for them ever to open a passage, or force the insidels to raise the

fiege.

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stering and brain no aid HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrived at the camp about this time with two thousand five hundred men. all of them old and resolute soldiers, and commonly called the bravo's of Algiers. When he faw fort St. Elmo, and confidered its smallness, he could not forbear crying out, that had his foldiers been at the fiege, it would not have held out so long. This young Turk was fon to Barbaroffa, and fon-in-law to Dragut: proud of those celebrated names, and in hopes of making his own as illustrious, he defired the basha to entrust him with the attack of fort St. Michael, boalting that he would carry it fword in hand. Multapha, who was an old general, and who would not have been forry that this bold youth should learn, at his own expence, how dangerous it was to come within reach of the fword of the knights, answered him in a very obliging manner, That as he did not doubt of his fuccefs. he freely confented that the fultan should bestow upon him all the honour that so brave an action merited; and, in order to enable him to carry his point, and attack the ifle both by fea and land, he gave him fix thousand men, affuring him at the same time, that he collinow or the particular agree and pand by collected

would fustain him on the land side at the head of all his troops. To prove the state to the state of the state of the state of

HASSAN, with his Algerines, refolded to attack the peninfula both by fea and land; towards the continent, in that part where it joined to the main land, and towards the port on the other fide. He left this last attack to Candeliffa his lieutenant; he was a Greek renegado, and an old corfair, of a cruel and bloody difpolition, but an excellent feaman, having frent his whole life under Barbaroffa, and commanded at this time the Algerines, who followed Haffan to the fiege, he having divided them between himself and his lieutenant on this occasion. To prepare for this double attack, the Turks for feveral days together kept a continual fire with their artillery from leveral batteries. They had raifed one of three cannons upon mount St. Elmo, which played upon the Spur or point of the island. There was another of thirteen cannons, and a double culverin planted upon the Corradin rock, which fired continually on the courtin of the cattle of St. Michael. The front of the castle was battered by three cannons from a place called the Hermitage. They had raised on mount St. Margaret another battery of fix cannons, which played upon the fortifications of the castle of St. Michael, and made great havock among the houses within. One would have thought hitherto that the Turks were minded only to make war at a distance, and to carry it on with their artillery; but on the fifteenth of July, at day-break, the scene changed, and they came to a long and bloody engagement, in which the bravelt of both parties loft their lives,

WHILST the Turks, through the ruins which their artillery had made, were endeavouring to force their way into the island, their slaves had drawn, by strength of arms, a prodigious number of boats from portMuffet, cross mount Sceberras, and had launched them in the great port, and Candeliffa had put part of the Algerine foldiers on board them, together with upwards of 2000 men, whom the basha had given him for this enterprise. This little fleet, if we consider the fize of their veffels,

being well armed, and numerous enough to cover the great port in a manner, let out from the coast of mount Sceberras, with drums beating, haut-boys, and other barbarous instruments playing, as they moved along. It was preceded by a bark full of mahometan priefts and dervices, some of whom were imploring the assistance of heaven with hymns and prayers, whilft others were reading out of books which they held in their hands, imprecations against the Christians. This ceremony foon gave way to arms of a more formidable nature, when the Turks advanced boldly to the staccado. Candelissa imagined he should be able to make his way through some part of it and break it; or, in case of disappointment, his design was to make his soldiers climb over the staccado, and, by the help of a great number of planks, one end of which was to be laid upon the top of the piles, and the other upon the shore, he thought to make a kind of a bridge to land his men: But he was miltaken in his conjectures, the shore being farther off than he imagined, and the planks proving too fhort; and when he attempted to break the chain, or cut the fail-yards, which fastened the piles that formed the staccado, the Turks were in a moment overwhelmed by the fire from the muskets: and the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, with all the batteries of the ifle which looked towards the port, firing upon them at the same time, sunk a good number of their boats, and forced the rest to make off.

These general however rallied them together, and observing that the staccado did not so entirely cover the point of the isle, but that it left a place where he might attempt to make a descent, he accordingly made towards it. Twas a kind of cape or promontory, on which they had made a strong entrenchment, that was lined by a good number of arquebusieres, and washed to the bottom by the water of the port. This point of land was defended by a battery of six cannons, (playing level with the water of the port) which the grand master had planted just below two wind-mills that stood upon the eminence. The commander de Gui-

meran, an old knight, of whom mention has been often made, and ever with honour, commanded at this post: he suffered the boats of the enemy to advance near the shore, but as soon as he saw them within reach, he gave them such a sire, with his great and small shot, that several of their boats were sunk, and we are told that near 400 Turks were killed by this

volley.

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CANDELISSA, who had been brought up, as it were, in the midst of fire, and inured to all the dangers of war, made to the shore, whilst the Christian cannoneers were charging their artillery again, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But he here met with new perils; for Guimeran, when he fired his cannons, had referved two loaden with cartridge fhot, which he now poured in upon the Turks. Great numbers of them dropped, but their intrepid general, feeing part of his foldiers give way, and feveral of them making back to their boats, did all that lay in his power, by making use of intreaties and menaces: but. above all, endeavouring, by his own example and refolution, to oblige them to ftand their ground on the shore; and in order to cut off all hopes of retreating, commanded the boats to make off. This was telling his foldiers that they must either vanquish or die; and indeed it was manifelted on this occasion, that despair often pushes us on to actions that are superior to courage, or the ordinary strength of nature. The Algerines, who were in the front of the attack, with a fabre in one hand, and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to get upon the entrenchment. They all strove who should first seize upon so dangerous a post, and unanimoully preffed forward with a generous contempt of death. There was a dreadful flaughter made in the engagement, which was a very long one: the blood ran down in streams to the foot of the intrenchment: but the Barbarians attacked it with fo much fury and refolution, that they, at last, after an engagement of about five hours, gained the top of the intrenchment, and planted feven enligns upon it.

Ar the fight of these standards, the knights, though reduced to a small number, being ashamed of their retreat, faced about upon the enemy with a noble indignation. Admiral Monti put himself at their head; and. after a fresh volley of small shot on both sides, they closed, and engaged one another with their half pikes. fwords and daggers : fortune however feemed in fufpence on the fide of the knights, of whom fo great a number had been flain, and those who survived were fo wearied and spent, that they had just reason to fear the worst : when the grand master, whose vigilance extended to every scene of action, baving notice of the extremity to which those who defended the Spur of St. Michael were reduced, fent the commander de Giou, general of the gallies, and the chevaliers de Quiney. and Ruiz de Medina, with a party to their affiftance. This fuceour was preceded by another of a very fingular kind: a company of boys, near 200 in number, armed with flings, which they used with great dexterity, crying out fuccour and victory, poured in showers of stones upon the enemy. The commander de Giou, advancing immediately at the head of his men, with his pike in his hand, charged the infidels, tore down their standards, drove them before him, and forced them to quit the rampart where they were going to make a lodgment. The knights purfued them close with their drawn swords, and forced the greatest part of them to throw themselves headlong down : Candeliffa, their commander, was one of the first that fled: and though he had ever hitherto discovered the utmost intrepidity and courage, it yet was damped before the engagement was ended. He had no fooner loft all hopes of vanquishing, but his intrepidity fled away at the same moment; and the fear of falling into the hands of the knights, who gave no quarter, obliged him to call back his boats, and he himself was the first that leaped in. His own foldiers, ashamed of his precipitate flight, which dishonoured their body, called him afterwards by no other name than that of the Greek traitor. They gave out that he was a renegado in a double

double sense; and that he, after having renounced the Christian religion, and embraced that of Mahomet, had not been willing to complete the advantage he had gained through the hopes of his meeting with a more favourable reception among the Christians upon his return to them, which had been the reason of his deli-

vering them up to the fury of the knights.

HOWEVER, the algerine bravo's, notwithstanding their being deserted by their leader, still fought on as they retreated with great courage; but serjeant major Sada, the chevaliers Adorne, a Genoese, Paul Ferrier, of the language of France, and a Florentine gentleman named Corbinelli, incensed at their obstinate resistance, sallied out at a casemate with a party of soldiers; surprised and charged the insidels so warmly, that after having killed great numbers of them, they forced the rest to sty for their lives to the boats and shallops which were returned to take them in.

THE fea was not much more favourable to them than the land, they being obliged to make their way through the fire of all the batteries that had annoyed them so much at their approach, and upon their landing, and which now funk feveral of them in their retreat. Even those who had thrown themselves on board, erowding in too great numbers, funk down to the bottom; fuch as could not get boats embraced the knees of the victorious foldiers, and begged for quarter; but they received no other answer, than that they should have St. Elme's pay; and accordingly were, by way of reprifal, all cut to pieces. There were others who, in order to avoid this kind of death, flung themfelves into the fea, though they could not fwim, and were either drowned, or killed with the fire from the muskets. The water of the port was in a little time covered with dead bodies, with heads, arms and mangled limbs. Scarce had there ever been feen a more hideous and dreadful spectacle; and of four thousand men whom the general had put on board for this enterprise, there hardly escaped five hundred, and most of thefe were grievously wounded.

THE order, not to reckon the private foldiers, loft near an hundred persons of distinction, who were either knights or fecular gentlemen, and whom a zeal for the Christian religion had brought to Malta. Among these they particularly regreted the loss of brother Frederic de Toledo, fon to the viceroy of Sicily, a young knight, whom the grand mafter, out of regard to his father, who was valtly fond of him, had always kept near his person; but the young gentleman, hearing the diffres that the knights who defended the Sour of St. Michael were in, stole away from him, and ran to that part which was most in danger, where he was killed by a cannon-ball. His death proved fatal to the chevalier de Savoguerre, who, being close by him, was killed by a folinter of his enirals. At the same time another ball killed the chevalier Simon de Soufa, a Portuguele, and shot off the arm of the chevalier Gaspard de Pontevez, of the language of Provence. The chevaliers Simiane de Gordes terjeant-major, Mello a Portuguese, Roderic de Cardinez, and Brunefay de Quiney, who had brought the first succours into the island, though wounded, would not vet quit their post. The grand mafter could not prevail upon them to retire into the infirmary; but they, getting themselves dressed on the foot, flayed on the place where they had received their wounds, of any sor blood so that a motion will

Nor was less blood shed on both sides at the viceroy of Algier's attack. This commander, after having
ordered the signal for the assault to be given by a cannon-ball, advanced boldly at the head of his troops to
the several breaches which the artillery had made on
the side of the Bormole, and the castle of St. Michael.
The Algerine troops, which he had kept with him,
were in the front of the attack, and came forward
with so much heat and resolution, that they soon planted their ensigns along the parapets. Colonel Robles,
a person of celebrated valour, and yet more so for his
experience in war, commanded at that post: he, in
order to stop the first impetuosity of the insidels, saluted them with the fire of all his artillery, which they

had purposely charged with eartridges; and the shotflying through the thickest of their battalions, made at
first an horrible massacre, and whilst they were putting fresh charges into the cannon, and the mortar
pieces, a good number of Castilian and Portuguese
knights, who were posted along the slank of the Bormole, discharged such a terrible fire from their small
arms, that the Algerines, in spite of all their bravery
and resolution, were not able to withstand the sury of
it, so that their commander drew them off, and marching along the side of the parapet, led them to another
breach, where, as some deserters had informed him,
he should meet with less resistance.

THE chevaliers Carlo-Rufo, and la Ricca, both captains of gallies, commanded at that post; who, in order to secure their foldiers from some batteries which the Turks had raifed upon the adjoining hills, had hollowed and funk the earth on the infide of the wall. But the courdn, by this digging away the ground, was made to high, that they were obliged, in order to defend the breach and stand an affault, to throw up immediately a kind of bridge or gallery; and by reason of the little time that was allowed for that purpole, the work was fo ill performed, and withal fo narrow, that feveral knights, and a great number of foldiers, were there destroyed by the fire-works which the Turks were continually throwing at them. The chevaliers Rufo and la Ricca exposing themselves in all places, were dangerously wounded, and quite disabled. They were succeeded by admiral Monti, who commanded in chief. This officer immediately fent for a reinforcement of a party of those knights who had signalized themselves in the defence of the spur, and had just before repulled the infidels with fo much vigour. A confiderable number of thele, and among the rest Quiney, and the serjeant-major Simione de Gordes, notwithstanding their being wounded, would needs share in these new dangers : they ran to the breach at the head of a company of brave inhabitants; and, as if the first advantage which they had gained had been a certain carneft -

earnest of victory, their presence soon changed the face of the combat. The few knights and soldiers who were left at this post, at the sight of this reinforcement, were inspired with fresh courage, and they all fought with so much intrepidity and resolution, that the vice-roy, unable to withstand them any longer, was forced to order a retreat to be sounded, having seen most of

his Algerine brave's drop by his fide.

THE basha, despairing to vanquish the knights any other way than by exhaulting and wearing them out, resolved not to give them a moment's rest; and therefore, after having engaged them for five hours together fuccessively, he renewed the assault, and, instead of the Algerines, fent on the Janizaries, whom the grand feignior had given him for this expedition. These soldiers, the main strength of the Ottoman empire, advanced up to it with a bravery that is proof to every kind of danger. 'Twas against this formidable body that the Christians, parched with heat and thirst, and quite spent with fatigue, were forced to take up arms. However, they, as if they had been insensible to the cravings both of hunger and thirst, and to the raging heat of the dog-days, and had been invulnerable, gave the enemy a fresh volley with their small arms, came up with them, and attacked them fword in hand. They now close together, each man seizing his opposite adversary, so that in the midst of a general engagement, there were frequently as many private duels as there were combatants. The Janizaries difcovered as much intrepidity as the knights, nor were less backward in braving dangers. The peril and fury of the troops were equal on both fides; when a Turk, perceiving the slaughter the chevalier de Quiney made of his comrades, and not valuing what became of himfelf, provided he could but kill him, advanced up to him, and, firing his piece, shot him through the head. but he himself fell the same moment by the sword of another knight. However, the death of this Janizary was but a poor fatisfaction for the loss the order suftained by that of so brave a knight. The chevalier de Simiane

Simiane survived him but a few moments; he had put himself at the head of a party of the inhabitants, composed of men, women, and children; and whilf the latter were throwing stones, fire-works, and boiling oil upon the enemy, he charged them with fo much fury, that the Turks, unable to stand it, quitted the breach, and took to their heels, in spight of all the cries and menaces of the basha. Simiane, in order to prevent their officers from bringing them on to a fresh engagement, immediately fet pioneers to work, who, in his presence, and by his directions, laid wool-sacks and gabions upon the breach, and dug cuts behind the first barricado, which they fortified with good intrenchments. But as he, regardless of his own safety, was employing himself in so urgent a work, and which was so necessary for the security of the place, his head was struck off by a cannon-ball. Thus died a knight, who was one of the most distinguished of his language, on account of his birth, and still more so by his bravery and skill in the art of war. Upwards of forty more. and about two hundred foldiers, loft their lives in this last attack. As they fought with very little intermisfion, and that numbers of them were daily killed and wounded, they were obliged to fill up their places with new officers; so that the commander Anthony du Fay, of the family of St. Romain, was made ferjeant-major, and the post of Carlo-rufo and la Ricca. who were both mortally wounded, was given to the chevaliers John Antonio Grugno, and Julio Malvicino, who had both some skill in fortifications, and in the art of attacking and defending of fortreffes.

THE basha, whom neither the greatness of dangers, nor the difficulties he met with could dishearten, ordered a bridge to be framed after the model of that which he had made at the siege of St. Elmo, composed of the fail-yards and masts of ships. The grand master, who foresaw the consequences of it, and the advantage it would be of to the Turks in storming the place, attempted twice to set it on sire in the night; but his soldiers were repulsed both times, and the en-

Vol. V, C terprise

terprise appeared so difficult, that they were convinced it would be impossible for them to succeed in it but in the day-time. The danger was evident from the great number of Janizaries, all of them excellent musketeers. who were posted on the counterscarp. The grand mafter, as a proof that his nearest relations were not dearer to him than the other knights, ordered Henry de la Valette, his brother's son, to make the attempt. The young knight, who was full of fire and spirit, in company with the chevalier de Polastron, his particular friend, fallied out at the head of a good number of foldiers, in broad day-light. As the bridge was not vet well fixed, he thought to break it down by tying frong ropes and cables to the posts and principal beams that supported it, and afterwards to draw them by main force out of their place, and so make the whole work fall to pieces. The foldiers at first fet about it with resolution enough; but as they worked in a place which was exposed to the enemies fire, they were demolished in a moment by a fform of small shot, which killed abundance of them, and forced the rest to retire for shelter under the fortifications of the castle. Young Valette, and the chevalier de Polastron, were too brave to follow the example of their foldiers; and, not minding whether they followed them or not, endeavoured to supply what was defective on their part, and to faften the ropes themselves to the props of the bridge. But they met with the same fate as their foldiers; for they were scarce got down to the foot of the bridge, when they were that by two musket balls, that killed them on the fpot. As the basha had offered a reward for every knight's head that should be brought him. fome Janizaries advanced immediately to cut off those of la Valette and Polastron. But the Christian soldiers were in such concern at having deserted their officers, that they chose rather to lose their lives as they had done, than to return back into the town without at least bringing off their bodies along with them. This brought on an engagement between the two parties; and the dispute who should get possession of the dead bodies,

bodies, was the occasion that many lost their lives on both sides. But the Christians, being either stronger, or more obstinate in the engagement, gained their point at last, and retired back into the place with this

forrowful advantage.

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THE grand mafter bore the death of his nephew with great constancy of mind, and added this virtue to the thining qualities which he discovered during the whole course of the siege; and when some old knights were going to condole with him on his lofs, "All the knights, says he to them, are alike dear to me; I " consider them all as my children, and I am as sensi-" bly concerned at Polastron's death, as that of la Va-" lette: after all, they have only got the start of us " for some days: and in case the Sicilian succours do on not arrive, and that there is no possibility of saving Malta, we must all die to a man, and be burried un-" der its ruins." Whereupon an old commander telling him, that he had been informed by a deferter, that the basha had swore, in case he should take Malta, to put all the knights to the fword, and referve only the grand malter, in order to present him to the grand seignior: " I shall take care to prevent him, replied " la Valette; and if the fiege, so contrary to my hopes, " should end in so fatal a manner, I declare, says he, " before you all, addressing himself to the knights who " were about him, that I am refolved, in that extre-" mity, rather than they shall ever see, whilst I am alive, a grand mafter carried in chains to Constan-" tinople, to dress my self like a private soldier, and " rush into the midst of the enemies battalions, there " to be killed, and there die with my children and " brethren?" a side of the same war to the

Such were the fentiments of this great man, so truly worthy of his dignity; and we may justly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main strength of the island lay in the virtue, the courage, the resolution, and foresight of la Valette, and that the safety of Maka depended entirely upon his preservation. However, he valued his own life less

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than he did that of others; and after having been in person to reconnoitre the bridge, where his nephew had been killed, he ordered an hole to be made in the wall over against it, and on the same level, where he planted a piece of artillery, which fired with such success, that it soon shattered the bridge, and the night following they

fet fire to it, and burnt it to ashes.

THE basha, enraged at such a resistance, and fearing that the ill fuccess of the siege might draw upon him the fultan's displeasure, called an extraordinary council of war. He there first gave them an account of all he had hitherto transacted for the taking of the teveral fortreffes of the island, and then represented to them, that the only reason of his attacking fort St. Michael, was, because it seemed the weakest in the whole island, which, if he could once take, it would open him a way for the reducing of the great town and castle of St. Angelo; that however, he had not neglected to batter incessantly this last place, with his artillery from mount Salvator, and other adjacent posts; and that the subject of their present meeting was to consider whether they should give over the attack of the isle de la Sangle, in order to unite all their forces against the castle of St. Angelo; or whether it were not better, in order to divide and weaken the forces of the belieged, to carry on the attack in different places at the same time.

The council, after a mature consideration of the reasons on both sides, agreed to the last proposal; and it was accordingly resolved, that the basha, with the viceroy of Algiers, should continue the attack of the isle, whilst admiral Piali, with his marines, should lay siege to the great town and the castle of St. Angelo: and that, in order to prevent the viceroy of Sicily's throwing any succours into these places, Candilessa, Hassan's lieutenant, should guard the sea with fourscore

gallies well armed.

THE basha, pursuant to this scheme, renewed his batteries against the isle de la Sangle; so that not only the walls and bastions of the fort were demolished, but

the very honses of the town, and the inside of the castle were likeways very much damaged, and there was scarce a place in it but what bore some marks of the fury of the cannon. Admiral Piali, on his side, that he might not be out-done by Mustapha, in his eagerness for pushing forward his work, raised a new battery upon mount Salvator of twenty cannons, among which were three basilises, or great cannons, and two mortars, some of which threw stone-bullets of three hundred pound weight, and others iron balls of fixty, and some of fourscore pounds. All these different batteries played incessantly upon the post of Castile, the flank of the post of Auvergne, and all other parts of

His engineers directed their principal attack against the post of Castile, so that the trenches and other works were very far advanced on that side. They laboured at them night and day with indefatigable industry, not so much as resting in the hottest part of the day; infomuch that in a little time they ran them up to the walls of the place, and intrenched themselves so well with the earth which they dug up, and the stones which were shot against the town, that the workmen were all un-

the fortifications, as far as the infirmary.

der covert. THE fiege grew more and more bloody every day, and worse to be dreaded for its consequences; the infidels did not allow the belieged a moment's relt; one while they attacked a fingle place, and anon they affaulted several together at the same time. The Christians indeed repulsed them with vigour, and killed them abundance of men; but yet, considering the difproportion of their forces, they might be faid to lole more than the Turks, and their garrisons were daily weakened. The basha, after having harassed them for four days together with continual skirmishes, and offers of attempting a scalado in several places, made, August the second, a fresh assault on fort St. Michael. The infidels, in hopes of plunder, advanced up to the breach with great refolution. The belieged fultained the attack couragiously, and repulsed the enemy; their

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officers

officers, during the fix hours that the attack lasted, brought them on five several times to the assault; but they were always received with the same intrepidity. As their troops, and particularly the Janizaries, exposed themselves boldly, the knights made an horrible slaughter of them, and the basha, fearing lest all the rest should be cut to pieces, ordered a retreat to be sounded.

FIVE days afterwards, which was the feventh of the fame month, Mustapha made another assault; and, in order to oblige the belieged to divide their forces, lent three thousand men to attack the bastion of Castile. whilst he himself marched at the head of eight thoufand to storm the fort of St. Michael. The only weapons that were chiefly fought with at the post of Castile, were arrows and small arms: their design was to draw the principal forces of the order on that fide; for which purpose the Turkish musketeers and archers advanced but flowly to the storm. But their greatest efforts, and the real attack was against fort St. Michael. The Janizaries, who were in the front, advanced boldly with great shouts, according to their usual custom; they were answered by a terrible fire from the place, which killed them abundance of men before they could come near the walls: but they, without being daunted at feeing nothing but death all around them, marched with intrepidity over the bodies of their comrades, and forced their way to the top of the breach, where both parties, as if they had been in the field, fought with equal fury for four hours together; the Turks were for keeping the posts they had seized upon, and the Christians exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to prevent their making a lodgement there. Among the latter, all, even to the very women, fignalized themselves against the insidels : and whilst the peafant and the citizen were defending their country, their wives and children fought with an intrepidity which equalled, in some measure, the resolute bravery of the knights: and if paternal or conjugal love inspired those men with a courage and force, to which they had been

been hitherto insensible, there were not wanting heroid women, who ran to the assistance of their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands, and who generously

exposed themselves to the greatest dangers.

SOME of these brought stones, arrows, victuals and refreshments to the combatants, whilst others of a more dauntless spirit mixed in the fray, and threw fire-works, scalding water, and melted pitch upon the Turks : the fear they had of lofing their honour and their liberty. in case they should fall into the hands of the infidels, infoired these brave women with a contempt of all the horrors of impending death. The Turks, still furious and eager for fighting, and enraged to fee their courage opposed by such feeble enemies, fell upon them without mercy, fo that several of them died by their weapons, and the fire-works which they threw at them. The breach and the castle seemed all on fire, and the tumult of the combatants, the clashing of their arms, the cries of the foldiers, the groans of the wounded. and of the persons of both sexes who were just expiring, and lay confounded together upon the ground, formed a spectacle that was as moving as it was dreadful.

THE basha, who had posted himself at the foot of the breach, ran with his fabre in hand, on all fides, exhorting, intreating and threatning his foldiers, and crying out, that if they would but exert themselves a little more, they would certainly carry the place. He. with his own hand, killed two janizaries who had thrown themselves down from the breach, in order to prevent their falling by the fword of the knights. The rest of his soldiers, terrified by this action, and seeing that the swords of their officers were as fatal as those of their enemies, laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to the engagement any otherwise than by cutting all the befieged to pieces. Each fingle janizary fought with as much eagerness, as if the victory had depended on himself only. In fine, after the assault had lasted upwards of four hours, and at a time when the grand mafter was in some pain about the success of it; the basha,

basha, to the great astonishment of the Christians, es well as of the Turks, ordered a retreat to be sounded. They were asterwards informed, that the commander Mesqueta, governor of the Notable-city, had been the occasion of it.

MUSQUETA, who was an old officer, and a man whose vigilance extended it self to all places, seeing, from the highest part of the city, that the castle of St. Michael looked as if all in a blaze, made no question, but that the Turks were attempting a storm, and that the befieged were attacked with the utmost vigour; upon which he ordered a body of cavalry to march out of the place, each trooper carrying a foot-foldier behind him, in order to make a diversion. The chevaliers de Lugny and Vertura commanded this detachment, who were ordered to go and discover how things flood at the fountain of la Marza, and moreover, to attempt to surprise and carry off the fick and wounded foldiers, whom the basha had lodged in that place, for the fake of water, and the coolness of the place; but he had not given them a strong enough guard. The chevalier de Lugny, leaving his infantry in ambush in a neighbouring village or hamlet, called Azabugi, in order to secure his retreat, advanced to the fountain, and, finding that the guards of the hospital were dispersed up and down the neighbouring hills, the better to view the two affaults, he ordered his troopers to alight, who, falling upon the fick and wounded, made a dreadful havock amon them. The furprise and confusion that generally attend on fuch unexpected attacks, the cries and groans of the dying, the flight of fuch of the wounded as could escape the fury of the Christians, all these circumstances united, spread a general terror over the Turkish camp; the fugitives gave out it was the van of the Sicilian army, and of the Christian succours. which being landed near that place, were marching forward to raise the siege. This report soon came to the basha's ears; and as in a general consternation, reafon often serves to no other purpose than to augment the terror and belief of the danger, Mustapha, though

an excellent officer, was imposed upon by the current mistake. This had been the occasion of his commanding a retreat to be founded; when rallying his troops, he put himself at their head, and advanced towards the place where he expected to meet the enemy: but he found a general solitude in all places. For the chevalier de Lugny, after executing his general's orders, had judiciously withdrawn himself. The basha, arriving at the fountain of laMarza, and being informed that this bold enterprise had been atchieved by a party of the garrison of the city only, he fell into a violent passion; and that which particularly made his rage and shame still greater was, that he had suffered himself to be imposed upon so vastly, and had discontinued an asfault at a time when he had reason to hope he should fucceed in it. Whereupon he was firmly resolved to return to the breach, renew the attack, and either die upon it, or carry the place. But his principal officers represented to him, that night was coming on; that his troops were excessively fatigued with the heat and obstinacy of the battle, and that it was absolutely necesfary to allow them time to refresh themselves. These reasons prevailed upon him to return back to the camp. when they waited upon him to his tent, where he spent the night in forming new projects, in order to make himfelf mafter of the bulwark of Castile, and the fort of St. Michael:

THE basha had not omitted one of those various kinds of attacks, which the fatal science of war had invented for the taking of fortresses; trenches, places of arms, redoubts, cavaliers, saps, mines, scaladoes, batteries upon batteries, planted in various places, and assaults renewed almost every day; in a word, every thing had been hitherto attempted, and generally basseled by the valour of the knights. Their presence upon the breach, and their intrepidity, had supplied the places of the strongest bastions. The Turkish general, in order to conceal his design, and prevent their taking measures to oppose it, had again recourse to mines: his pioneers and soldiers worked at them continually. The

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knights at the same time exerting themselves to the utmost, in order to discover and countermine them, when they often met with the infidels, and came to an engagement with them in those subterraneous passages. The great dispute in these combats was, who should keep possession of the chamber of the mine, and it frequently happened that both parties were destroyed, either by the mine's taking fire, or by the falling and weight of the earth that was blown up into the air, and which fell back again upon the combatants. But the grand mafter and his officers could not discover all these mines : feveral escaped the observations and search of the ablest engineers: The Turks had run some by different channels under fort St. Michael, and the bulwark of Castile, both which places were entirely undermined.

THE grand mafter and his knights, being always in a manner between two fires, were not even fafe on the ground they stood upon; and they had as much reason to dread the effects of the cannon as that of the mine, which fpringing up at once, and without any

previous notice, was equally formidable.

In this dreadful state of things, la Valette wrote to the vicerov of Sicily, to represent to him the great need he had of speedy succours, acquainting him that the fortifications of the island were intirely ruined; that he had loft on different occasions the flower of his knights who had rushed fearless into danger; that such intrepid warriors were not long lived; that most of those who furvived were thut up in the infirmary; that the enemy was strongly intrenched before the walls; and that he conjured him, in confideration of the great difires he was in, without either fortifications, troops, or fuccours, to dispatch away, at least, the two gallies of the order, which lay in the port of Mellina, with the knights who were come thither from the remorest countries; it not being just, as he observed at the conclusion of his letter, to be tender of a part, and of a particular limb, when the whole body is expoled to an almost inevitable destruction. GARSTA

GARSIA, though ever wavering and irresolute, yet feeing it highly concerned both his mafter's honour as well as his own, to come to a final resolution, proposed the affair in council. John Andrew Doria, whose courage justly merited him the illustrious name of his great uncle, made him a proposal of fitting out all the naval forces of his catholic majelty, and of fighting the infidels at fea. But the viceroy immediately declared, that he had no authority to venture a battle; nor were the reasons strong enough to engage him to hazard the royal navy: that in case the Turks should happen to be victorious, the coasts of all his catholic majesty's dominions would by that means remain unguarded, and lie exposed to the invasions of the Turks; so that all that they had to consider was, whether it was the the king's interest to send a part of his troops to Malta: and that, supposing they should come to that resolution, whether it would be practicable to carry over the fuccours, and land them without danger, and without the knowledge or even in spite of all the opposition the infidels might make. There was no great difficulty as to the last article. The sea officers, whose opinion was first asked, unanimously agreed and demonstrated, that a body of troops might be eafily landed in the illand. But the land officers were divided in opinion, with regard to the second question, Alvarez de Sande, a famous captain, of whom mention has been already made, with respect to the siege which he sustained in the ille of Garbes, was intirely against the enterprise, and maintained stiffly, that the king of Spain was neither bound in justice, nor engaged by his own interest, to hazard his troops; that it was la Valette's bufiness to confider his own circumstances, and the condition of his forces, before he carried matters to too great an exfremity, and that he, in imitation of the grand malter Villiers de Lisse Adam, one of his latest predecessors, might enter into a treaty with the enemy, and quit the iffand upon tolerable conditions.

SUCH as were acquainted with Sande's valour, and heard him deliver his opinion with so much weakness, could

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could not possibly dive into the motives of it. Some ascribed it to the fear he was under of falling again into the hands of the Turks, who had treated him cruelly during his captivity; others suspected, that he did it only in order to make his court to the viceroy, and perhaps to Philip himself, who, as we have already observed, minded nothing but shew, and who, after having got together a numerous sleet, levied troops in all his territories, and filled all Europe with the noise and expectation of the succour he presented to send, would not perhaps have been displeased that a council of war, composed of the ablest generals of the age, should have thought it improper for him to hazard a part of his

army.

BUT Ascanio della Corna, who had gained a great reputation in the wars of Piedmont and Italy, maintained warmly, on the contrary, that they could not decline fending fuccours to the knights of Malta, without exposing themselves to an eternity of reproaches. He represented that they, ever fince their establishment at Malta, had always exerted themselves with the utmost bravery in the defence of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; that whenever the infidels were to be engaged at sea, or that a war was to be carried on in Africa, they had always joined the fleets and armies of his catholic majefty, and had been ever forward to expose themselves to the greatest dangers for his service; that the business then in question was the preservation of an illustrious order, an order which, without any ambitious views, and without ever attempting to make one fingle conquest for its own private advantage, was continually in arms, and daily facrificing its lives for the defence of the territories and subjects of all Christian princes with the utmost impartiality. He then descended to particulars, and remonstrated, that as the sea officers had agreed that they might convey and afterwards land the fuccours in the island without any danger, fo those who were to command on shore might, by posting themselves advantageously, and by the favour of the rocks, the hills, and passes, with which the island abound-

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abounded, easily advance within fight of the places besieged; in which case the Turks, as they had not at that time above 15 or 16,000 men left, and all of them extremely harrassed, would be obliged either to raise the siege, or be themselves invested; that the insidels would be obliged to oppose the attacks of the Christian army, and the sallies of the knights, and that at one and the same time, and in the midst of such engagements, it would be an easy matter for them to throw succours into the forts, and to change, or at least rein-

force the garrisons.

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THIS advice, being more generous, was carried by a plurality of voices; the viceroy himself came into it, and, in order to apologize for his affected delays, he wrote immediately to the grand mafter, by which he informed him, that he had just received orders from Madrid which left him at liberty to follow the dictates of his zeal and inclination for the order; that he would be at Malta towards the latter end of the month with 12000 land forces; that Doria and Vitelli were to bring 4000 more from Italy, and that he would immediately fend away the two gallies of the order, under the command of the chevaliers de Cornuston, and St. Aubin, with upwards of 200 knights, befides a great many gentlemen of different nations, who were come to Messina in order to fignalize themselves in the defence of Malta; that indeed, the king of Spain his mafter, had ordered him, as foon as he should have landed the troops, to return back with the ships and gallies to Sicily; that notwithstanding the earnest defire he had to diftinguish himself at the head of his army, he was indiffentably obliged to obey; but that he, pursuant to his prince's intentions, would, before his fetting out, leave express orders with his general officers, to fubmit to him as to their commander in chief.

How agreeable foever these positive assurances might be, the grand master, who depended only on his own forces, was still as careful and vigilant as ever: he was continually visiting the advanced posts, was ever exhorting and encouraging the foldiers, and as he expos-

Vol. V. D

ed himself in places of the greatest danger, he was frequently the first man who engaged the enemy.

THE knights, under the conduct of so heroic a general, were all of them continually fighting, or bufied in fome labour; and if the historians of that time did not affure us of the fact, we could hardly think it probable, that fuch an handful of warriors could have been able to hold out so long as they did, against such a number of attacks as they fulfained, or bear up during fuch a feries of watching, wounds, and fatigues. Nor did the Turks discover less bravery; and, above all, their generals could not so much as reflect upon the obstinacy of their defence, without shame and vexation. Mustapha and Piali, from a mutual emulation, attempted every thing that open force could do, and employed all the stratagems that the science of war could suggest; and expoled their own persons to the greatest dangers, as freely as they did those of their foldiers, in the hopes they had, that he who should first make himself master of the post he attacked, would be honoured by the Sultan with the merits of the whole enterprise.

This emulation inspired the two generals with a resolution of either dying in the breach, or carrying the forts which they attacked. In pursuance of which, they agreed to attempt a new storm; to continue it, if necessary, for several days, and even nights together, and by that means weary out the knights, and vanquish them at least by exhausting their strength, in case

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they could not triumph over their valour, want of the

PURSUANT to this resolution, they, on the 18th of the month, at noon, in the greatest heat of the day, advanced at the head of their several bodies, imagining they should find the knights assep, and retired under the shade and shelter of their intrenchments. The basha commanded his soldiers to storm the breach of St. Michael, and the Turkish admiral that of the bastion of Cashile. Both the attacks were made with great resolution, but with various success at first.

Some hours before the attack began at fort St. Michael, the infidels had made fuch a terrible fire upon it, that they did not leave so much as the least piece of a wall, fortification, or even intrenchment, standing. The basha then ordered his men to attempt a storm; and, as they were the very slower of his troops, were brave, and fought under the eye of their general, they performed wonders. The knights received them with an intrepid courage; and, though worn out with fatigue, and the greatest part wounded, they never had before discovered so utter a contempt of danger. No sooner did one drop, but another stepped up in his place; and, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted for upwards of six hours together, they repulsed the enemy, more indeed by the greatness of their courage, than by the vigour of

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THE Turkish admiral's attack on the bastion of Castile was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred attempting the form for some time, in hopes that the grand mafter, when he should see that he made no motion, would detach fome of the troops that were to oppose him, in order to succour the fort of St. Michael, by which means he might make an advantage of their ablence; but not finding that any body stirred, he sprung a mine in a place where it was least fuspected, which threw down a pannel of the wall. As foon as it had done execution, the beliegers, who were ready for the storm, set up a great shout, mounted the breach in a trice; and the place had been certainly loft, if the knights upon guard there, who were not prepared for their reception, had been susceptible of fear. A chaplain of the order, brother William by name, seeing the Turkish standards set up at the foot of the parapet, ran in a terrible fright to the grand master, and made him figns at a diltance to retire immediately into the callle of St. Angelo. But the intrepid old man, clapping on a light head-piece, without staying to put on his currais, advanced resolutely with his half-pike in his hand to meet the infidels, when he, and the knights who were with him, gave them fuch a furious onlet, that they could not stand it, and seeing the inhabitants running in crowds to the grand malter's allilance, they D 2 began

began to retire, but still making a terrible fire from their. fmall arms all the time. Mendoffa, who commanded at that post, seeing the grand master standing by him. and fearing least some ball should take him off, begged him on his knees to retire, representing to him that the fafety of the island, the lives, the liberty and honour of the women and maidens, depended on his preservation, and that if they should lose him all would be lost. But the grand mafter pointing to the Turkish standards, which were still hoisted and waving in the wind, told him, that he must first see those trophies of the infidels demolished; upon which all the knights who were about him rushed forwards immediately, when a new combat enfued, in which the bravest men fell on both fides: at last the standards were tore down, and the infidels forced to retire in diforder, covered with blood and wounds. The grand mafter made no question but that their leaders would foon bring them on to the same attack, and therefore ordered quarters to be got ready for him there: the knights did not fail to represent to him, that he had made choice of a place which lay exposed to the enemy's artillery; but as he was sensible of the importance of that post, and how necessary his presence was to defend it, nothing could prevail upon him to remove from it. So after thanking the knights for the testimonies they gave him of their affection, "Will it be possible for me, says he to them, at the age of seventy one, to end my life " more gloriously, than in fighting with my brethren and my friends for the service of God, and the de-" fence of our holy religion ?"

THE Turks, as the grand master had foreseen, returned that very night to storm both places: the attack was chiefly carried on with small shot, and the besieged on their side plied their enemies on all sides with granadoes, slaming hoops, and sire-works, so that they fought almost by no other light, than that which was made by the sire of the artillery and small arms. The Turkish soldiers at the foot of the breach, not knowing how to direct their own shot, or secure themselves

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felves from that of the Christians, gave over the attack several times; but their officers striking and cutting them with their canes and scimiters, forced them back as often. The soldiers who were as much incensed at this treasment, as disheartened by the resistance of the knights, and being unable either to advance upon the works or retire, resolved to impose upon their generals; when, as if they had been still attacking the knights, they only struck their swords upon their bucklers, and set up their shouts as usual in battle. But the basha perceiving at last, not-withstanding the darkness, that all the cries and noise they made was a meer sham, thought proper to defer the attack till day should appear, and immediately ordered a retreat to be sounded!

I can whom tell whether I may not have just reason to fear, that the reader will be tired with the repetitions of so many assaults, so little different from one another; but as both parties distinguished themselves in those seems by performing the most brave, and the most heroic actions, and as the knights particularly, though reduced to a small number, sustained for some months, both day and night, the continual attacks of a number-less multitude of enemies, who relieved one another by turns, but never allowed them a moment's rest, I imagined that this detail might be of use, as it gives a more just idea of the intrepidity of the combatants; and that I was moreover obliged to it, in order that my narration might not be wanting in exactness.

BE that as it will, the basha the day following, being August 19, gave the signal for an assault at both attacks, by a general discharge of his batteries. The Turks came on with fresh resolution to that of St. Michael, hoping to make themselves masters at least of the revelin. What gave room to these hopes was a machine, being a kind of carcasse, but much larger, made in the shape of a long barrel, covered over with iron hoops, and silled with gun-powder, chains, nails, bullets, and all kind of iron instruments. The engineer, after having sastened a match of a proper length to it, found means to throw it upon the ravelin,

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where it fell among the knights who defended it. But they, no way daunted at this smoking machine, catched it up before it took fire, and threw it back upon the enemy, who were crowding to mount the breach: it burst a moment after, and, tearing every thing to pieces that came in its way, sent heads, legs, and arms, up into the air. The Turks, in a fright, immediately dispersed themselves; some sted as far as their trenches, when the Christian soldiers, animated with this dismal spectacle, and in order to make their advantage of the terror their enemies were in, sell in among them sword in hand, made a terrible havock, and forced the rest to retire.

PIALI's attack at the baltion of Caltile was more dangerous; and lasted a considerable while longer. The infidels came on with an air of resolution, and in spite of the continual fire of the Christians, which killed them abundance of men, they forced their way to the top of the parapet, and fixed their standards upon it. At the shouts the Turks gave, who fancied they were mafters of the place, la Valette, who was not far off, ran thither with pike in hand, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. The infidels relisted them with the same intrepidity, when they fought together with their pieces at their advertaries breaft. The commander of Bonneseigne lost his eye by a musketball, as he was fighting by the grand master's fide; others fell by the fword and fire-works. The grand master. advancing too far in the danger not to have his share of it, was wounded dangerously in the leg by the folinter of a grenado. He generously disregarded it as long as the combat lasted, continuing still, by his speeches as well as example, to animate his men, and thereby prevailed upon the common foldiers to fight, and behave themselves like so many officers, and as men who were inspired with a true sense of glory. A zeal for religion had the like effect upon the minds of the peafants and townsmen, by making them flight all the horrors of furrounding death, and put all the combatante as it were upon a level. A confiderable number

f knights, braving the impending danger, met here with an honourable period to their lives. Cencio Cafconi, an old knight, who commanded at the Spur of St. Michael, informed of the danger to which the grand malter was expoled, ran to his fuccour with a body of foldiers and inhabitants, and was the first who mounted on the parapet, together with the chevaliers Bergia, Mendossa, Don John, and de la Roche Pereyra. Pikes and fwords were then the only weapons uled; the Turks and Christians often grappled together, and fought with a rage and fury as if every private man had been revenging an old quarrel, and gratifying a personal hatred. Both parties were continually sending new reinforcements to the combatants, which made the battle last till night. In fine, the knights who fought in the grand mafter's presence, made such powerful efforts, that they recovered the parapet, and drove out the infidels. here a seek was a larger to the

MUSTAPHA, who neither allowed his enemies nor his own troops any interval of rest, attempted another storm the day following, which was the twentieth; not that, after so many repeated trials he expected to carry places, so well defended, at once; but as he knew the grand master's strength lay principally in his knights, who were reduced to a small number, his design in carrying on these continual attacks was to take some of them off every day, and by that means at last reduce these two places, as he had already done fort St. Elmo, for their want of men sufficient to defend them.

However, as he saw his soldiers began to be dispirited by there perpetual attacks, in which he lost abundance of men, he set himself to contrive a way to secure them from the small shot of the knights, which made a dreadful havock among them. For this purpose he invented a kind of head-piece, made of thin wood, but proof against musket-shot, which reached down to their shoulders. He caused eight thousand of his foot, to put on this new kind of armour, and advanced at their head to attack fort St. Michael: but when they

were to engage, his foldiers were fo encumbered, for uncafe; and so much weighed down with these wooden helmets, that they could neither attack the Christians nor defend themselves; fo that they were forced to take off to troublefome a load, and then, naked as it were, advenced boldly to attack the fort. They were led on by Cheder, fangiac or governor of Boffine, an old of ficer of good reputation in the army, who had promifed the basha either to earry the work, or die in the attempt. This old foldier, who was used on fightingdays to wear fine cloaths, the better to distinguish himfelf, was then dreffed in a rich yest, and advancing holdly up to the parapet, commanded the officer who carried his enfign, to hold it aloft; but the officer was foon killed, and the enligh thrown down Upon this the fangiac immediately ordered it to be taken up again; and though the post he was in was very much exposed, and several Turks were killed successively one after another in the attempt, he still had it raised and hoisted aloft in the fight of the combatants during all the time the form lasted. In fine, the last who carried it, having met with the fame fate as his comrades, he himself took it is and holding it in one hand, and his seimiter in the other, he fought, and obliged his foldiere to fight with wonderful resolution. But his fine cleaths drawing all eyes upon him, and his valour, and the deadly blows which he dealt about diftinguishing him fill more, the chevalier Peffoa, the grand mafter's page, killed him with a musket-ball, when a Torkish officer immediately took his place, and encouraged the foldiers to revenge the death of their general a obli

THE V indeed maintained at first their post with resolution enough; and so many single combats were, as it were sought, between several officers of both parties about who should get possession of the sangiac's body. The Turks at last carried it off; but they were so warmly pursued, that they were forced to take to their heels. In this rout, a knight threw himself on Cheder's ensign; but he who carried it, though mortally wounded, held it so fast, that he was forced to break the staff of it in

his hards, and could only carry off the colours, which were torn to rags. Several knights of diffinction were killed in this engagement. The commander John de la Cerda, ashamed of the weakness he had discovered at the desence of fort St. Elmo, had, in order to repair his honour, been for some time past seeking death, as it were, in every post of danger. He at length met with it on this occasion, and died bravely on the breach.

THE Turkish soldiers, beginning to despond after so many bloody storms attempted in vain, the basha found it necessary to allow them an interval of two or three days reft. But on the 20th, a letter was thrown into the great town, which they took up and carried, scaled as it was, to the grand master, who found nothing in it but this one word, Thursday. He was not at a loss to understand the meaning of it, and that it was to expect a fresh assault upon that day. He accordingly prepared for it, with his usal courage and resolution; and in order to prevent any surprise, and to found the disposition of his men, he caused a false alarm to be given on Tuesday the one and twentieth. Every body ran readily to his post; and by this trial the grand mafter had abundant reason to be pleased with the vigilance of the officers, as well as with the alacrity of the foldiers. He only observed, that by the daily loss they had sustained of a good number of knights, some of them were wanted in certain posts, in order to head and animate the foldiers.

This report reached the infirmary; all the wounded knights, who were able to stand upon their legs, bravely fallied out, and, like those of fort St. Elmo, chose rather to face death, and meet it on the breach, than wait for its coming in their beds. The grand master, admiring their generous spirit, distributed them into the several places where they were most wanted: and, finding himself sustained by warriors who seemed to have something in them more than human, he waited with impatience for the return of the enemy.

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Bur he had not long to wait; for purfuent to the notice which had been given him, they prefented themselves on the twenty-third at both attacks the basha led on his troops in person to storm for St. Michael. This place, during the fickness of admiral Monti, was defended by the marshal Copier, the commander Giou general of the gallies, and by a confiderable number of the principal commanders of the order. The Turks. animated by Mustapha's presence and example, fought with great courage; pone of them boggled at danger. nor did they meet with a less vigorous relistance from the belieged. If the Turks, by making a bold struggle, ever got an inch of ground, they were foon repulled from it by the Christians; Each party had its alternative of good and ill fuctels, without any one's being able to judge on what fide the sictory inclined : the batha discovered, on this oceasion, all that the bravery and conduct of a great general could perform, in order to furmount the disadvantages of his fituation; but the knights, having an advantage in their post; made such a serrible fire with their small arms, from the top of the breach, and were so well seconded by all their artillery, that the Turks, after having loft abundance of their men, loft likeways their courage. Such as were farthest of the breach began to steal away from the danger, fuch'as were nearer and more exposed took to their heels; may, even their very officers gave back, and in spight of all the basha could either say or do, he could never bring them on to the florin again, fo that he was forced to command arctreat to be founded, in order to five the honour of his troops is seew odw addited be

But the attack of the bulwark of Castile lasted longer, and was carried on with more vigour, and attended with greater danger: It was ushered in with a furious fire from the Turkish batteries, which played upon the breach in order to drive the Christians from thence, at the same time that a body of Janizaries, assisted by a crowd of pioneers, were raising a kind of platform close by the wall, and higher than the parapet: they here posted a party of musketeers, who made such a

continual fire upon the befieged, that no body could appear either on the breach, or along the parapet, but was immediately killed. The grand mafter, who was ever in the hottest part of the fire, and of the danger, ran to the place; his presence inspired the besieged with fresh courage; nor was that of the besiegers any way damped; and though the whole time was spent in siring at one another, the combat was nevertheless bloody. It lasted till night, and in spight of all the fire the grand master could possibly make from all his batteries, he yet was not able to silence that of the enemy, who stattered themselves, as their cavalier commanded the breach, that they should make themselves

malters of it the next day and own sheet to mount

THINGS being in this deplorable condition, the council of the order met to confider what measures were proper to be taken t the town was undermined on all fides, the fortifications ruined, the enemy in possession of the out-works, and the breach in a manner blocked up by the cavalier, which was so close to the wall that the infidels could leap from it into the place. Most of the great crosses advised the grand mafter to abandon it; to blow up what fortifications were left, and to retire in time with their ammunition and provisions into the castle of St. Angelo, which had as yet received no damage. They represented to him the danger they were in of the fortreis's being carried the next time a from should be attempted, in case they should obstinately resolve to make a longer, and at the same time, useless relistance; that in the hurry and confusion of a forced retreat, they would not probably have time to get to that fortrefs, the last that was left them; that the old men, and the women, would be in danger of falling a prey to the fury and brutality of the barbarians; whereas, on the contrary, if a ftrong guard was but put upon the breacht they would have leffure enough, whilst the foldiers and inhabitants should be retiring, to carry their ammunition and provisions into the caltle, and to take fuch precautions as should be necellary for its fecurity and defence. 101 helivong you

THE grand master rejected this advice with as much horror and indignation, as if they had propoled the delivering up of the whole island to the infidels ? upon which he shewed the council, that the great town, and the ifle de la Sangle, which still held out, lay so near together, and that there was such a reciprocal and necessary communication between them, that there was no defending or abandoning the one without the other, fo that the giving up the bulwark of Castile to the enemy would be to give up fort St. Michael at the same time; besides, that the eastle of St. Angelo could never hold the foldiers, the inhabitants, and the great number of people who were to be taken out of those two places; that the cistern of the caftle could not supply water enough for their drink. and that the bare want of a thing so absolutely necesfary for the support of life would reduce them in a few days to the fatal necessity of either dying of thirst, or furrendering the place to the Turks. The lords of the council replied, that if there was a necessity of their holding out the town and the castle of St. Michael to the last extremity, they yet begged him to withdraw into the castle of St. Angelo, and carry thither the relics and ornaments of the churches, with the most important writings and papers of the treasury; and that they should be in no pain for themselves, provided his person were but in safety, after which they should face all the perils of a new storm with pleasure. The grand mafter, who was not to be shaken in what he once had refolved upon, and who forefaw that the carrying of the effects of the order into the caltle of St. angelo would give the foldiers room to imagine, that they were not thought fafe enough in the town, rejected this fecond advice also, and, addressing himself to the whole affembly, "'Tis here, my dear brethren, faid he to them, that we must either die together, or " drive out our merciles enemies." And to shew the commanders who were about him, how far he was from retiring into the castle of St. Angelo, or making any provision for his own fafety, he only left just a few soldiers in it sufficient to manage the artillery, and drew out all the rest, employing them with the garrison during the whole night long, in making cuts and intrenchments within the place. He himself superintended over these several works, with so much art and capacity, that though the Turks should the next day have carried the first intrenchment, they would still have found another behind it, and that too raised so high as to command them entirely; so that by disputing every inch of ground with them in this manner, he saw himself in a condition to hold out till such time as the viceroy of Sicily might have an opportunity of com-

ing to his affiftance.

HOWEVER, as the platform which the Turks had raised against the wall gave him a secret uneasiness, he communicated his thoughts to the commander de Claramont, of the language of Arragon, whole capacity he well knew, and, by his advice, caused a hole to be opened in the wall the night following, with as little noise as possible. The commander, attended by Francis Guevara du Pereira, and some other Spanish knights. fallied out at the gap, stole softly along the foot of the wall, till they got upon the platform, and then fetting up a great shout, they attacked the guards that Piali had left there, who fancying the whole garrison was falling upon them, fled away with precipitation. Claramont, instead of destroying this work, thought it adviscable to fortify it: the grand master immediately fent him a party of foldiers and pioneers, who foon railed a parapet upon it to cover their musketeers. They likeways planted some pieces of cannon upon it. and the Turks were greatly furprised and confounded to fee the knights employ a work against them, which they had raised in order to hasten the destruction of the Christians.

THE ill success they had met with at the attack of the post of Castile did not damp the ardor and eagerness of the basha; perhaps it might have given him an ill-natured pleasure, or, at least, as he flattered himself with the hopes of taking fort St. Michael, he was not forry

to find that the admiral had not first opened the way to victory, in order to ingroß all the honour of it to himself. In the beginning of September, he ordered a new storm to be attempted; the Janizaries, to whom he had promised the plunder of the place, ran like so many furies to the foot of the breach, nor could the that of the artillery, the stones, the scalding water, or the fire-works which the belieged poured down upon them, prevent their getting to the top of it. They were already in possession of almost all the bastions of the fort; there was nothing left between them and the belieged but a wooden partition, and they were fo close together, that their muskets croffed one another. The fight lasted for a long time with equal fury; but at last the insuperable bravery of the knights triumphed over the obstinacy of the Turks. They made them give ground before them, and threw them headlong down from the breach, in spite of all the basha could do. who now began to delpair of reducing the place any other way than by famine, which he still hoped might oblige a body of men to submit to a capitulation, whom he could not vanquish by open force or stratagem.

BUT it was not long before he was informed, that he had more reason to dread a want of provisions than the knights : the commissaries of his stores acquainted him, that a ship, which had been sent to the isle of Gerbes for corn, was taken by the Sicilian gallies: that they had not meal to serve them for above twenty five days; and the officers of his artillery told him that their powder was almost spent. Under such unlucky disappointments, and particularly through the fear he was under, leaft the fultan should make his head pay for the ill success of the expedition, he resolved to make a last struggle on the Notable city : and though the taking of this place, which was fituated in the middle of the country, was of no great confequence for the conquest of the island, he yet fancied, if he could but take it, and carry away all its inhabitants with him into flavery, as the furest testimonies of his victory, the

mole of such an advantage, though not a very material one, would pacify the grand signior; who might likeways be well enough pleased, for the sake of his own reputation, and for the glory of his arms, to have the

people dazzled with fuch an appearance.

WITH this view, on the last day of August, he set out from his camp with four thouland men of his belt troops, composed of Janizaries and Spahi. The place had been represented to him as poorly fortified, so that he was in hopes of taking it by scalado. But the strength of places does not confist to much in the bulwarks and bastions with which they are surrounded, as in the valour of the troops, and the capacity of the governor who defends them. Mesquita, the brave Portuguese knight, of whom mention has been already made, though he had but a weak garrison, put on an air of boldness and resolution upon the first approaches of the enemy. He ordered the courtine to be lined with cannons, muskets, pikes, standards, and colours; and, in order to make the Turks believe that his garri-Ion was very numerous, he made the people of the city, and the inhabitants of the country, who had retired thither for refuge, to mount upon the walls with his foldiers: even the women themselves, dressed in mens cloaths, mixed among the relt, and appeared in arms upon the bulwarks and baltions.

The artillery now began to thunder on all sides, and make a continual sire. The engineers, whom the basha had sent to reconnoitre the town, and the places where they might six their ladders, were terrised at the sight of these warlike preparations. Their fright made them perhaps fancy them to be greater and more formidable than they were in reality: accordingly they reported to the general, that there was no attempting to carry a fort by scalado, that was desended by such a numerous garrison, without exposing the best troops he had left to be knocked on the head before his eyes; and that such places were not to be taken but by a regular siege, and by attacking them in form. The basha, who had neither forces nor time enough for such

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an enterprise, and being, moreover, afraid of being furprised by the succours which were daily expected from Sicily, returned to his camp in the utmost uneasiness, without knowing what measures to take, or on what fide to turn his arms. His projects and stratagems were now quite exhausted: in this uncertainty he assembled all the engineers of his army, and pressed them to invent some machine that might be of service in a new affault, and bring this tedious and difficult enterprize to an end. The engineers replied, that they had already exhaulted all the secrets of their art, and that the rest depended on the courage and bravery of his troops. However they, in order to fatisfy him, framed a wooden tower, which was pushed along upon rollers up to the breach of fort St. Michael. This tower, like the old machines made use of in sieges before the invention of cannons, had several storeys. The highest, which over-looked the place, was filled with musketeers, who poured in their that upon all that durst shew their heads; and to secure this last storey from being annoyed by the batteries of the caltle, the infidels had no fooner fired a volley; but they, by means of certain wheels within the machine, and probably by the weight of the counterpoile, and the help of pullies, let down the top of the tower, which was then sheltered by the wall of the place, and rested against it. The Turks, by the help of this machine, killed abundance of men at first; but a Maltese carpenter, Andrew Cassar by name, a man who was very skilful in his business, after having examined the structure of the tower, caused a loop-hole to be made in the wall, directly opposite to this wooden caltle, where he placed a culverin loaded with chain-shot; and the moment the Turks were hoisting up their machine, he fired his cannon upon it, which took it in the middle, and shattered it to pieces; fo that the foldiers, who were in the highest storey, either broke their necks with the fall, or were bruifed to death under its ruins.

THE bashs, vexed to the soul to see all his enterprises miscarry, and uncasy at that which was forming against

against him at Messina, resolved to fall to mining again. Accordingly he set his pioneers to work again, and had recourse to this last resource; not so much in hopes of fuccels, as to keep his troops from imagining that he himself desponded, from his suffering them to continue in inactivity. But the knights, by opening pirs and countermines in all suspected places, defeated the meafures of the infidels. They likeways, on their fide, ran other mines under the polts which the Turks had seized, and blew up a great number of them. The Christians now stood no longer on the defensive, but made feveral fallies, in which all the advantage was on their fide; fo that they began to fancy they could force the Turks to raise the siege, without the affiftance of the viceroy. The affected delays of that Spanish nobleman, had, for some time, made the grand mafter despair of receiving any succours from him; and though his fleet was in a readiness, and both the officers and foldiers, intended for the service, expressed an extraordinary eagerness to signalize themselves against the infidels, nevertheless, the viceroy could not prevail with himself to set sail; and his irresolution made it be very much doubted whether he would really embark. or wait for the news of some disaster which he might make use of as a handle to excuse himself from setting out at all.

The noise however of these preparations had brought above two hundred knights, commanders and great crosses of different languages, to Messina, whose only view of coming thither was in hopes of meeting with ships to transport them to Malta. The viceroy's dilatoriness put them out of all patience; the greatest part of them never lest his palace, so that they besieged him as it were. There were even some of them, who, being bolder than the rest, and finding intreaties could not avail, had recourse to reproaches. The viceroy, who was naturally proud and haughty, complained about it, and was moreover offended, that the knights, when they spoke to him, did not give him the stile of Excellency. Lewis de Lastic, grand prior of Auvergne,

faid to him bluntly on this occasion, " Provided, Sir, " we do but arrive time enough at Malta to fuccour " the order, I will give you, with all my foul, the " title of excellency, of highness, or if you, please, of " majesty." The viceroy only smiled at what he said; and hearing that that old knight was descended of a noble family, and had acquired great honour in France in the wars against the Protestants, he drew him aside, and told him in private, that he, in confideration of his quality and merit, would explain himself to him, and discover the most secret recesses of his heart. He told him, that whatever pomp and outfide might be annexed to his dignity, yet his authority was not answerable to it; that it was not always in his power to follow the impulse of his courage; and that he was the dependant of a prince, who, in order not to expose his own reputation, or bring himfelf into any difficulties, often left his ministers to guess at his intentions; that ever fince he had fancied, from some hints, that he would not be displeased that Malta should be succoured, his first design was to go with all his master's naval force to fight the Turkish admiral; but not having a sufficient number of vessels for that purpole, he had refolved, in concert with the grand mafter, to throw a body of ten thousand men at least into the island; that he would lead this succour in person; that the chevalier Vincent Anastagi, an excellent engineer, had furnished him with an exact plan of the island, and all the places proper for landing his troops; that the grand mafter had likeways fent him all the fignals and counter-fignals which they were to make from the fortreffes of the island, and the castle of Goza; and that he hoped to fet out from Messina on the twenty-first of August at farthest. He kept his word, and arrived on the twenty-fecond at Syracufe, which was the general rendezvous of the whole army; when making a general review, it was found to confift of near eight thousand men, most of them old foldiers, and veteran bodies, that had served in all the wars of Italy. ALVAREZ

ALVAREZ de Sande commanded the regiment of Naples; Sancho de Londono that of Milan; Vincent Vitelli was at the head of a great body of volunteers of Italy and other nations; and Afcanio della Corna was appointed major-general during their voyage. The viceroy kept the supreme command in his own hands, till such time as the troops should be landed: but after his departure the council of war, till they should have joined the grand master, was to determine of all enterprizes by a plurality of voices, and the orders were to

be given in the name of his catholic majesty.

On the first of September all the fleet hoisted fail, and fet out under the discharge of all the artillery, and with the shouts of the whole army. The rendezvous was at the little isle of Linosa; they met with bad weather, which dispersed their ships, and drove them out of their course, but when the storm was over, the viceroy, in order to give them time to come up with him, as well as to refresh the soldiers, after the fatigue of the sea, put into Favignana, a little island near Trapini in Sicily. On the fourth, the fleet put to sea again, and arrived at the little island of Linosa, where the viceroy met with letters from the grand master, by which he acquainted him, that he might fafely make a descent about Mugiaro, and the road of Melecca, where there was good anchoring. But the viceroy's motions gave them fresh reason to suspect that he did not intend to make any use of this advice; for he, instead of entring the channel of Goza, failed along the fouth coast of the isle of Malta, and suffered himself to be discovered by the Turkish frigates that came out of Marza Siroc. One would have thought, that he did not so much want to land, as to find some opposition that might oblige him to tack about, and return into the ports of Sicily. The usual accidents that happen at sea furnished him with one to his mind; for there role in the night a strong gale of wind mixed with rain, which blew with fo much violence, that the van-guard, commanded by Cardona, was separated from the rest of the seet. weather proving calm in the morning, the viceroy difpatched

patched some light frigates to learn whither the wind had driven him; but they, not meeting with any account of him, he tacked about a fecond time, and flood away for Sicily, doubled cape Pallaro, and put in at Paffal, where Cardona, who had been in quest of him to no purpole at Goza, came up and joined him : but he had first landed his troops. Every body then began to doubt of the fuccour, and they faid publicly, that if it were possible to fave Malta, nothing but the invincible valour of the knights could effect it. Such of them as were on board the fleet openly expressed their detellation of the viceroy's timorous prudence, and the excessive precaution he used; and to make the missortune still greater, above one thousand five hundred soldiers deferted, so that the army was in a few days reduced to less than fix thousand men. The viceroy. startled at so considerable a desertion, relapsed into his usual irrefolution: upon which he called a council of war, where he again proposed to them whether or no it might be proper to attempt the relief of Malta. Whill they were debating this question, a great noise of confused voices and cries was heard at the councildoor, demanding that they should set fail immediately. The general officers, who, out of complaifance to the viceroy, had given their opinion in a doubtful and ambiguous manner, were well enough pleased to see the foldiers, who had no measures to keep, come and explain their real fentiments in a bolder manner. The viceroy, by the air of their countenace, and the filence they kept in the midft of a tumult, which their own foldiers had raifed, eafily penetrated into their real intentions. He stood out no longer. So that he might no longer refult the real fentiments and wishes of the council and the whole army, they reimbarked on the fixth, and arrived the same day in the afternoon within fight of Malta. All the fleet shouted for joy when they entered the streight or channel of Goza : but the viceroy, not willing to run the hazard of landing in the night, they, by his orders, came to an anchor, and ranged themselves near the little isles of Comino and Cominote. The

The next day in the morning, being the feventh, the fleet put into the road of Melecca, and landed all the troops, arms, ammunition and provisions designed for the reinforcement. The viceroy went ashore to review them: and, as foon as he had feen them on their march towards the Notable city, he reimbarked according to his mafter's orders, and returned to Sicily. But he, before his departure, at his taking leave of the general officers, promised to bring them, by the thirteenth or fourteenth of the month, a reinforcement of four thousand men more which he expected from Italy, and which, as he told them, were by that time landed at Messina. There arrived likewise, at the same time, several young French noblemen and gentlemen, who flocked thither, out of an eager defire to fignalize their courage against the infidels. Among these, says M. de Thou, they reckoned Philip, fon to Peter Strozzi, a marshal of France; Timoleon of Costè Brissac, son to another marshal of France: Roger de Saint Larry of Bellegarde; Peter de Bourdeilles of Brantôme; Hardouin de Villiers, Lord la Riviere; and a few days before them, René le Voyer, viscount Paulmi, and bailiff of Touraine, had landed in that island, in order to go to the succour of an order, which, for three hunred years past, had reckoned several of his ancestors in the number of its most illustrious knights. All these young noblemen were eager to embark with the new reinforcement which was expected from Italy.

MUSTAPHA and Piali, on the report of their spies, had always imagined, that the viceroy's view in assembling together all the ships and gallies that were in the ports of Sicily, was only to try the sate of a sea engagement, in order to open himself a way for the landing of his succours in the great port at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. But the basha, to deseat his design, had a few days before, barred up the entrance of it with a chain of sail-yards, piles and boats: and ever since the Christian sleet had sirst appeared off Linosa, the Turkish admiral, with all his naval force, had lain continually at an-

chor before the great port, in order to hinder the Chri-

Rians from entering it.

THE landing of the fuccours in a quite contrary part of the island threw both the generals into a terrible consternation: they were every moment afraid of being attacked by the principal forces of Christendom; fo that without informing themselves, according to the rules of war, of the number of men that were in the reinforcement, they raifed the fiege in a hurry, drew their garrison out of fort St. Elmo, left their heavy cannon behind, and embarked with a precipitation which differed very little from a downright flight. The basha, was no fooner abroad, but he grew ashamed of having suffered himself to be surprised by so sudden a terror. A flave, who had made his eleape out of the greattown, added greatly to his confosion, by telling him, that the reinforcement which had made fixteen thousand men take to their heels, did not confift of above fix thousand, and those too harraffed by the voyage, haying no general at their head, and commanded only by officers who were independent from one another, and not well united among themselves; and that it was believed, that were they to fee the Torks in their first posts, they would not dare to quit the rocks and passes in which they had intrenched themselves. But the advice came too late, and the infidels, unless they had been minded to begin the fiege a-new, could not depend upon their lines and intrenchments.

The grand master no sooner saw them gone off, and busy in reimbarking, but he ordered their trenches to be filled up, and their works to be ruined. All the inhabitants, men, women and children, and even the knights, worked at it day and night with that joy and alactity, which prisoners feel when they are allowed to knock off their fetters. The grand master at the same time sent a garrison into fort St. Elmo, and the Turks saw from on board their fleet the standard of St. John again set up, to their infinite grief and consu-

fion.

THE basha, who was afraid his head would answer for this ill success, and that the sultan would reproach. him with not having dared to look his enemies in the face, summoned a council of war, and a long debate enfued about the measures proper to be taken. The viceroy of Algiers was of opinion, that they should land the troops again, and advance to attack the enemy. He represented to the basha, that in case they were no more than fix thousand men, he might fight them with double that number; that if he should get the better, which he might justly expect, his victory would prevent the second reinforcement that the viceroy of Sicily was to bring, from entring the island; and that the knights, who were quite spent, as well as reduced to a small number, and in great want of foldiers, would be forced to capitulate. Piali, who was jealous of Multapha's credit, and was not forry that he had miscarried in his enterprise, was of a different opinion, and faid, that after they had loft the flower of the Ottoman army, it would be dangerous to expose what was left of their troops, and they dispirited and haraffed by a long liege, to an engagement of a fresh body of men, who were impatient of fighting. the opinion of the viceroy of Algiers, in favour of which the basha had declared, carried it by two votes: fo that the landing was refolved on; and the basha, enraged at himself for having raised the fiege in such a hurry, and terribly afraid of the reception he should meet with at the porte, in case he returned unsuccessful, reiolved either to conquer, or die at the head of his troops, rather than to be put to death by the infamous hands of an executioner; upon which he immediately went alhore himself; but he could hardly prevail with his foldiers to leave the ships. They all made heavy complaints at their being forced, after so tedious and bloody a fiege, to return back again to the flaughter. They were obliged to be torn in a manner from on board, and their officers could not get them to go afhore without using violence. The basha marched with the best part of them towards the Notable city, where he flattered

flattered himself he should meet the Christians. And, in order to secure his retreat on board his ships in case of ill success, he lest the viceroy of Algiers, at the head of sifteen hundred men by the sea-side. Piali, who, ever since the knights had taken possession of for St. Elmo, could not continue any longer in port Muzet, in concert with these two generals, put in with his sleet into the road of St. Paul.

The basha, after having thus settled matters, advanced in search of the reinforcement. Ascanio della Corna, who acted as major-general, had intrenched it on an hill, which was very difficult of access, by reason of the defiles or narrow passages that surrounded it.

THE grand master, ever attentive in observing all the motions of the infidels, sent advice to the Christian generals, that the Turks were advancing forward in order to fall upon them with all their forces; upon which they immediately called a council of war. Afcanio was of opinion, that they should wait the coming up of the enemy in their camp, representing, that it would be impossible for the Turks to attack a place in front which was so strong by its situation, without exposing themselves to all the fire of their artillery; that they were covered by the city on that fide, and on the other, by a monastery that was fortified by nature, in which they had thrown a body of troops, and that the infidels must pass under all their fire before they could fall upon his camp; that as the enemy had brought no provisions nor equipages along with them, they could not possibly stay long in the plain, as they would be so much exposed to the excessive heat of the fun, and that after a few light skirmishes, they, without running any hazard, would force them to retire and embark-on board their ships again.

But Alvarez de Sande, the most considerable officer in all the army, was of a contrary opinion, and, in all probability, had a mind, by giving a bold advice, and suitable to his courage, to wipe out the remembrance of that which he had given out of complaisance for the

viceroy,

viceroy in the council held at Messina, where he had opposed the sending of any succour to Malta; and therefore now declared, that his opinion was, they should draw the whole army out of the camp, and march down the hill to meet the enemy. " We are not ad-" vanced so forward, (replied he to Ascanio) to run " no hazard, and remain idle spectators of a new storm, " which the infidels, if they fee they cannot force our "intrenchments, will probably attempt upon the great town or the castle of St. Michael. We cannot tell how " manfully the Turks may behave when urged by de-" spair: and what a shame will it be for us to stand " looking on, whilft they are carrying those places, " which after all have no walls, nor any fortifications " left, but the bodies only of the knights who defend " them?

OF these two opinions proposed in the council of the Christians, the one was safe, and the other more daring, but at the same time more glorious for him who gave it. Most of the officers were for the latter; and the knights, who came in the Sicilian fleet, were particularly eager for their coming to an engagement. There were at least two hundred knights and commanders; and there was hardly one of the latter but what had brought with him feveral volunteers who were either his friends or relations, and a pretty good number of foldiers; these, united, formed one of the strongest battalions of the army; and they declared, that in case the troops did not quit their intrenchments, they were resolved, though they were all to perish to the last man, to break through the enemy's army, and throw themfelves into the places belieged.

But they were not obliged to come to such a sad extremity; for de Sande carried it by a plurality of voices: upon which, he marched down into the plain, at the head of the battalion of the order, followed by all the troops, and by Ascanio himself; who, after having protested against the ill consequences that might happen from an enterprise which he termed rash, was nevertheless resolved to share in the danger; with a pike

Vol. V. F in

in his hand he mixed among the knights, fought in the first ranks, and manifested by his bravery, that those who are fometimes accused of too much circumspection in council, are not upon that account less valiant in action. The Christians fought with great courage and resolution. De Sande, at the head of the knights, made a furious charge upon the infidels, whilft Vitelli attacked them in the flank. The Turkish soldiers, who had been dragged against their wills to the engagement. either out of resentment against their general, or because they were quite spent with the heat, were so far from making any gallant efforts to obtain the victory, that they hardly fo much as fought. The greatest part of them fired only one volley, and, finding themselves briskly attacked by the Christians, they broke, and shamefully took to their heels. The basha, seeing himself deserted by his men, was reduced, in spite of his courage, to the fad necessity of following the cowards, for fear of falling into the hands of the Christians. It is faid, that he was so confused and perplexed at the defeat of his troops, that as he was making off, he fell twice from his horse, and would have certainly been taken, had not some officers ventured their lives or liberties to fave him, by halting to give him time to remount on horseback.

THE Christians pursued the insidels briskly; their eagerness to pursue the enemy, made them insensible to the burning heat of the sun. The greatest part of the knights, who were heavy armed, threw off their cuirasses, in order to pursue the Turks the closer; and though most of the insidels they came up with were unable to make the least resistance, but lay extended on the ground, half dead with thirst and weariness, they nevertheless put them all to the sword. It was with infinite difficulty, and a considerable loss, that the Turks made a shift to get to the sea-side. Hitherto the Christians had found it more difficult to come up with their enemies than to sight them; but as the lightest and nimblest of them, slushed with their victory, and eager to pursue the run-aways, had broke their ranks, and

run up and down without any order, the viceroy of Algiers, who lay concealed behind the point of a rock, fallied out of his ambush with his troops; and, seeing they were but sew in number, fell upon them, killed several of them, and took the chevaliers Marc de Toledo, Peter de Yala, Ribatajada, and an English knight, whose name is not mentioned, prisoners. But happily Alvarez de Sande came up before the combat was ended, with some battalions, who charged the Algerines desperately; and the rest of the Christian troops coming up one after another, they carried all before them, cut to pieces all such as offered to resist, rescued the prisoners, and the Turks, whom fear had already vanquished, lest off sighting, and sled to their ships, which

gave occasion to a new kind of fighting.

ADMIRAL Piali, in order to favour the retreat of the Turks, did not only make use of the artillery of his gallies, but had lined the shore with shallops manned with his best musketeers, who made a continual fire upon the Christians. But the knights and soldiers, in their eagerness to pursue their enemies, and vexation to see any of them escape, followed them into the sea, in contempt of the fire and other dangers with which they were threatned; and some of them running up almost breaft high into the water, killed the Turks with the that from their small arms, just as they were getting into their gallies. Historians tell us, that the Turks lost in these several combats, and during the course of the fiege, at least thirty thousand men. The admiral, after having taken on board the poor remains of this once formidable army, set sail, and stood away for Sicily. The viceroy, seeing from the caltle of . Syragossa the Turkish fleet pass by, was informed without an express of the happy success of his reinforcement, and the raising of the siege.

THE grand seignior was prodigiously troubled when he received the news: he threw the letter he received

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It is the old Syracuse, now called in the language of the country, Saragossa.

from Mustapha on that subject upon the ground, and, flamping upon it, cried out, that his enterprises never fucceeded but when he himself went in person, and that he would absolutely go the next spring to Malta, when he would put all the knights and inhabitants to the fword. However, that he might not leffen the reputation of his arms, and in order to amuse the people. who are ever fond of being deceived, he, inflead of following the barbarous policy of his predecessors, who used to punish the ill success of their generals as a crime, ordered it to be given out at Constantinople. that the basha had reduced the island, and brought away the greatest part of the knights and people as captives; but that as he had not thought proper to leave any of his troops in garrison upon a rock, and in a little defart island at such a distance, he had blown up all the forts, and destroyed the houses; and that in case any Christian corfair should be rash enough to return thither again, they would always be a prey to his fleets, and lie exposed to the mercy of every potentate who should have fleets out at sea.

HOWEVER exaggerated these reports might be, 'tis certain, that, after the fiege was raised, the city, or what they called the great town of Malta, had less the air of a place which had been well defended, than of a city taken by ftorm; and which had been demolified, plundered, destroyed, and abandoned by the enemy. More than two hundred and fixty knights had been killed in the feveral affaults: and 'tis computed, that eight thousand men, either foldiers or inhabitants, perished in the siege: and when the Turks went off, there was scarce in the great town and the eastle of St. Michael, including the knights, fix hundred men able to bear arms, most of whom were covered with wounds.

THIS great loss was ascribed not only to the valour of the Turks, but also to the affected delays of the viceroy: his very name was had in deteltation by all the knights, of the feveral nations of Christendom: the grand mafter likewise complained of him afterwards to the pope. His holiness wrote to the like effect to the king of Spain; and though the viceroy in all this conduct, had only followed the private orders he had received from him, nevertheless, Philip, in order to prevent any room for suspicion, condemned these delays publicly, and sometime afterwards, removed the viceroy from Sicily: and, notwithstanding his having received great services from him, he nevertheless let him linger out the remainder of his days at Naples in obscurity, without giving him the least share in the government.

WHILST the auxiliary soldiers, who had relieved the place, were retired near the Notable-city, in order to refresh themselves after the flight of the Turks, the principal officers and all the knights, who came with the reinforcement, went to the great town to pay their compliments to the grand mafter. They were welcomed by him, by the knights of the place, and by all the inhabitants, as their deliverers. The knights embraced one another with great affection and tenderness; but when they came to call to mind the loss they had lately sustained, by the death of the most illustrious and bravest knights of the order, and considered the deplorable condition of the places which had been befleged, the walls and fortifications in ruins; the artillery for the most part dismounted; the houses either demolished or ready to fall; the magazines without powder, ammunition or provisions; the inhabitants pale and ghastly; the knights and the grand master himself, with their beards and hair rough and neglected, and their cloaths dirty and in a flovenly condition, like men that had scarce been in bed for four months together, and several of those brave knights still wearing the honourable bandages which covered their wounds; this moving spectacle drew tears from their eyes, so much were they affected, either with the remembrance of palt disasters, or with joy that Malta had been saved at last; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great events that had happened there; as the great town had been the principal scene of them, they gave it the name F 3

of the Victorious City, which it still retains to this

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Twas there the grand master entertained the generals of the auxiliary troops, lodging them in those places which had been least damaged by the Turkish artillery: they were treated in an honourable manner, and with as much plenty as could be expected in a place that had but just sustained a siege for four months together. The grand master's obliging behaviour, and the example of his frugality, made amends for what was wanting in the delicacy of their cheer; and when they came to take leave of him, he made them very handsome presents, and distributed considerable sums of money among their foldiers. The treasury of the order was now quite drained, and la Valette reserved nothing as it were, but the hopes of filling it again afterwards with the plunder of the infidels; it was indeed a pretty fure fund, and had never failed them for leveral ages together.

THE news of the defeat of the Turks was soon spread over all Christendom; it occasioned an universal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations, bonesires, and public thanksgivings. The name of la Valette was renowned in all nations, especially in Italy and Spain, whose inhabitants were obliged to the knights for the guard and protection of their maritime provinces. Pope Pius IV. and Philip king of Spain, who were the most interested in the preservation of a place which was of such service to them, gave to its intrepid defender the most honourable testimonies of their esteem and gratitude.

THE governor of Rome, by his holines's order, notified the raising of the siege of Malta to the Romans by the discharge of all his artillery, by bonesires and illuminations, which were made all over the city. The day was kept as a public festival; the magistrates did no business; the tradesimen shut up their shops; in short, there was no place open but the churches; into which the people slocked in crowds, in order to return God thanks for the happy success. All the inhabitants of Spain and Italy, whose fortunes lay on the sea-coast, thought

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of A, thought themselves, after raising of the siege, secure from the descents and incursions of the corlairs.

BUT Pius IV. that his acknowledgments might not confift meerly in empty praise, sent the grand master word of his being resolved to make him immediately a cardinal. But at the return of the express, they were furprised to hear that he had excused himself from accepting a dignity, which had ever been confidered as the testimony and reward of merit, sometimes indeed the price of favour, but always the object of the ambition of the greatest prelates, and fought for as an honour by the ions of kings. The reason which la Valette gave for his declining it was, that he was afraid of confounding the dignity of grand malter and cardinal together; two great offices, which, he faid, required different functions, and which, instead of supporting, would, on the contrary, be ever interfering with one another. There were some, who, calling to mind that the grand master d'Aubusson had made no fuch scruple, took occasion, from la Valette's refusing it, to commend him very much upon that account, and to ascribe it to his great modelty: others suspected that there was as much policy as modelty in his refusal, and that the grand master, justly looking upon himself as a fovereign prince, fancied he should lessen his dignity, was he to accept of one that was subordinate. But whatever were his motives, he defired his holiness to beltow that honour upon one of his brothers, who was bishop of Vabres; but the pope's death happening soon after, hindred the French prelate from reaping any benefit from the grand master's recommendation.

In the first transports of joy, which the brave defence made by la Valette, and the raising of the siege, occasioned over all Europe, and especially in Italy, nothing could hardly have been resused to a man whom they looked upon as the hero of Christendom. He received compliments from all quarters upon his success. The king of Spain, who, as Malta secured his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, was particularly concerned in its preservation, sent him the commander Maldonar,

to present him in full council with a sword and dagger, the hilt of which was of massy gold, set with diamonds: and in a kind of harangue which he made on this occasion, he said, that the king his master, considering him as one of the greatest captains of the age, desired him to employ those arms for the desence of Christendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grand mafter received at the same time compliments of the like nature from most of the princes of Europe, yet these honourable deputations could not secure the fears he justly entertained of what might afterwards happen. The fiege indeed was raifed, and the enemy was retired, but then they were making new preparations in the port of Constantinople. All the news that came from the east brought repeated affurances that the grand fignior, being enraged at the ill success of his arms under Mustapha's conduct, had declared that he himself would go in person the next spring, at the head of a formidable army, in order to fall upon Malta. And in what a condition had his troops, though they had not taken the places they had befieged, left the whole island? The country was destitute of inhabitants, the villages and hamlets were most of them burnt; the great town. where the convent relided, and the forts of St. Elmo and St. Michael were left without walls: their fortifications ruined; the artillery either dismounted or burst; the houses demolished, the cisterns without water, the magazines empty, no provisions for their support, nor money to buy any; few foldiers, and still fewer knights left in the forts. Malta, in this deplorable condition. appeared to him as much in danger as it had been during the fiege.

THESE distinal reflections would not suffer him to take any rest; when communicating his sentiments to some old commanders, who sympathised with him in his uncasiness, they thought it adviseable for them to abandon an island which they could never be able to defend, and transport the convent to Sicily. But la Valette, excited by the glory he had acquired in Malta,

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resolved to bury himself under its ruins rather than leave it; when, at last, the extremity to which he was reduced put him upon expedients which nothing but despair could justify, and which a great many generals

would have scrupled to make use of.

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THE grand fignior could not come to Malta, without a strong fleet suitable to his dignity, and sufficient to transport the troops he intended to employ in that They were continually at work for that expedition. purpose in the arsenal of Constantinople, and a good number of gallies and galliots were already on the stocks. The grand master, knowing this armament was deligned against him, found means to get the arienal fet on fire; the force of the powder blew up the magazines; most of the gallies, which were not yet finished, were consumed; and a great number of workmen perished in the slames. The author of this enterprize was not known for a long time; however, it anfwered his end, and the war of Malta was put off to another time. Solyman, not finding himself in a condition to fit out a fleet suitable to the enterprise, and superior to that of the Christians, turned his arms against Hungary, and ended his days at the fiege of Sigeth. Selimus the second, his son, afterwards declared war against the Venetians; and a certain historian says, it was only by way of reprifals for the burning of the arfenal of Constantinople, that he got the arfenal of Venice set on fire a little before his invalion of Cyprus.

THE grand master, seeing that he had nothing to fear from Solyman, at least for the ensuing campaign, resolved to employ the time allowed him, in repairing the several fortifications the Turks had ruined; and, for the better security of both the ports, proposed the building a new fortress in the Peninsula which separates them from one another. We have just now observed, that of all the several places which had been fortified before the siege, there was none of them better situated than fort St. Elmo, especially if it had been built more regularly. It was in a manner the key of

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both ports. The grand master, without neglecting to take care of the other ports, formed a design of enlarging this, and of adding new works to it, and resolved likeways to build a town upon the same neck of land, to strengthen it with all the fortifications that art could possibly invent, and to make it the residence of the knights. His opinion was, that they would be much safer there than in the great town, which was commanded on all sides by the rocks and hills with which it was surrounded.

For the execution of this project, great supplies were necessary, which could only be expected from the principal fovereigns of Christendom. The grand malter fent embassadors to the pope, to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and to feveral Italian potentares, to represent to them, that the late faving of Malta, by the gallant defence that was made, would be of little use, if care was not taken for its future seearity by immediately repairing the fortifications of those places which had been ruined by the artillery of the Turks. These ministers had likeways orders to acquaint them with la Valette's design of building a new city; to shew them the plan he had drawn of it; and to defire from them, at the same time, the supplies neceffury for fetting about such a considerable work. All zeal and in order to affift him in the undertaking the pope promised him 15,000 crowns; the king of France 140,000 livres, which were to be raised out of the tithes of his kingdom; Philip II. 90,000 livres; and the king of Portugal 20,000 crufadoes: befides which, most of the commanders of the order made very generous contributions out of their own private fortunes, and fold even their richest furniture and effeels, the money arising from which they remitted to Malta.

THE grand master, encouraged by these supplies, fent for engineers and workmen from several parts of Italy. When the lines for the new city and fortifications were marked out, la Valette went in his robes, attended

attended by the council, and all the knights, in great ceremony, to mount Sceberras, where he laid the full stone of the new city, upon which the order of council was engraved in Latin, almost in these words : "The most illustrious and most reverend lord, bro-" ther John de la Valette, grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, both hospitaller and mili-" tary, confidering all the perils to which his knights " and people of Malta were exposed at the last siege " by the infidels; and having, with the approbation " of the council of the order, and for the better oppo-" fing any new enterprises from those barbarians, re-" folved to build a town upon mount Sceberras; the " faid grand master has this day, being Thursday the " twenty-eighth of the month of March, of the present " year 1566, (after having called upon the holy name " of God, and belought the intercellion of the holy " virgin his mother, and of St. John Baptist, titulary " patron of the order, to obtain the bleffing of heaven " upon this important work) laid the first stone of it; " with his arms, which are a lion d'or in a field gules " engraved upon it; and the new town, by his order, " has been named the city of la Valette."

To perpetuate to the most distant posterity the memory of so remarkable an event, they threw on the foundation a great quantity of gold and silver medals, on which the new city was represented, with this infeription, MELITA RENASCENS, Malta springing up again, and in the exerge, they put the day

and year of its foundation.

As foon as the ceremony was over, the work began again, and was carried on with the utmost application; every one in his way, and without any distinction of the richest citizen from the poorest inhabitant, employed himself with that pleasure and eagerness, with which a work is followed when the common safety depends wholly upon it. The commander de la Fontaine, a person much esteemed for his skill in fortification, had the principal direction, and a kind of superintendency over all the works. Every knight contributed to it accord-

according as he was qualified. Some went with the galhes of the order, to fetch materials from different ports of Sicily and Italy; others went no farther than Meffina and Syracuse, whilst others again passed as far as Lyons to have the artillery new cast. Several worked at the head of a great number of pioneers in filling up the trenches, or clearing the breaches of the rubbish of the wall which the cannon had bear down; and others took care to get stones carried for repairing the old fortifications, or building new ones.

In this military republic, every one was in action, every one at work; the grand mafter in particular, for near two years together, never left the workmen he employed in the new city: he spent whole days among them, and eat his meals in the midst of the carpenters and malons, as if he had been one of their number; and so intent was he upon forwarding the work, that that he frequently gave his audiences and orders there.

In this multitude and variety of buliness, which he had upon his hands, nothing gave him greater uneafiness than the want of money for paying the workmen; the receivers of the order, in the provinces beyond fea. not being always fo regular as they should be in remitting it. The grand mafter, to supply this defect, coined some brass money, which he made of different value, according to the fize of the pieces. On one fide there were two hands joined together, and on the other the arms of la Valette, quartered with those of the order, and for the legend these latin words, NON ÆS, SED FIDES: "Do not regard fo much " the metal, as the inviolable promise given you to " take it again." And in fact, as toon as ever they had money, they did not fail to call in these pieces; and by this exactness, their credit was so well established among the people, that the work was not once difcontinued, or even flackned.

In the midst of these cares, so worthy of a prince and an illustrious warrior, there arose some troubles which disturbed the tranquillity of the government: for some young Spanish knights, fancying any liberties might be

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allowed in the midft of the rejoicings, which the defeat of the Turks occasioned, confumed their time in feafting and drinking, which they often intermixed with fatyrical fongs; and wherein, under a pretence of being witty, and of throwing out their jefts, they attacked the reputation of the bravest knights, and the honour of the principal ladies of Malta. These songs were foon made public, and complaint was made about them to the grand malter, who, as he was a strict obferver of exact discipline, conceived a very just indignation at the hearing of these irregularities, and accordingly directed the council, and principal officers of the order, to examine into them. The authors of these defamatory libels were discovered, and a prosecution was carried on against them. Whilst they were going on with it in full council, these young libertines, forgetting the respect they owed to the grand master, who prefided there in person, broke into the chamber, fnatched the pen out of the vice-chancellor's hand, with which he was writing the fentence pronounced against the criminals, and threw his inkhorn out of the window. This being done, the mutineers flung out of the room, and, by the help of their fecret accomplices and friends, got to the fea-fide, where they went on board some light feluceas, and made their escape to Sicily. The grand mafter, incenfed at fuch an unprecedented infurrection, degraded them from the order, and condemned them, in case of their being taken, to perpetual imprisonment. He dispatched, at the fame time, the chevalier Caprona to the viceroy of Sicily to demand them as rebels and deferters. But whatever real or pretended orders the viceroy might have iffued out, they either could not or would not find them. These knights however did not stay any time in Sicily; for, as they knew the grand master's firm and inflexible temper, they thought it best to retire into their respective countries. They flattered themselves, that as la Valette was very old, he might have a fuccessor who should be less severe, and perhaps have less credit; that time would at least be of advan-VOL. V.

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tage to them, as it would wear off the first impressons, and thereby lessen the greatness of their offence.

An affair of so vexatious a nature, and which, at the same time, was so dangerous a precedent, was scarce over, when another happened that gave the grand master fresh uneasiness. One Bonaccurs, a Florentine, who was settled at Malta, had there married a young lady of exquisite beauty, and the grand master's god-daughter. She was originally of the isle of Rhodes, descended of those noble Rhodians who came away with l'Isle-Adam, and followed the fortune of the order.

THE Florentine, transported with rage and jealoufy, stabbed his wife; and notwithstanding all the endeavours the grand mafter used to have him seized, his countrymen, whether knights or others, found means, in order to fave him from the punishment of the law, to ship him off to Italy; a country, where murders, occasioned by jealousy, are oftner connived at than punished. The grand master, in the midst of all the glory with which he was furrounded, was full of the highest resentments at the insults with which private men dared to wound his fovereign authority. As he was inviolably attached to the observance of the laws, was a true judge of merit, and a fevere avenger of guilt, he neither fuffered virtue to pass without a recompence, nor faults without chastisement. These great qualities made him equally dreaded and respected; and it was never known, during his administration, that either credit or favour had any weight with him; or that he was ever liberal or munificent but to those who

This laudable steadiness however embroiled him with the pope, and occasioned a new subject of discontent, which did not a little contribute to the shortning of so illustrious a life. Some cardinals, thirsting after the great estates which the order possessed in the several states of Christendom, and particularly in Rome and Italy, had infinuated to several popes, that the disposal of the first dignities of this military order belong-

jully merited it.

Upon this pretence, the popes had frequently conferred the grand priory of Rome upon cardinals their nephews, and exerted the plenitude of the power of the keys, in granting dispensations to qualify them to posfels that military dignity. Upon this principle, the priory of Rome had passed successively through the hands of several persons of the sacred college.

LA VALETTE could not bear to fee this misapplication of the citates of the order, without using his utmost endeavours to redress it. He had no views, no passion, but what terminated in the glory and interest of his order, which indeed may be faid to be those of Christendom; so that he could not forbear writing about it to his holiness in very pressing terms. pope, fince the raifing of the fiege of Malta, had fent him leveral briefs, which were full of pompous declarations of his efteem, and the deep fense he had of his fervices. The grand mafter answered him, that all the recompence he defired was, that he would leave to his order the disposal of the grand priory of Rome. Pius V. finding his request as difinterested with respect to himself, as it was just with regard to his knights, affured him, by a particular brief, that he, whenever it should fall vacant, would not diffurb the order in the enjoyment of its rights. Nevertheless, cardinal Bernardini Salviati, who was then grand prior of Rome, dying, Pius V. made no foruple to confer that rich dignityupon cardinal Alexandrino his nephew, without fo much as subjecting him, as the other cardinal grand priors had been obliged, to pay the usual responsions

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THE grand mafter was sensibly concerned at this breach of promise, especially in a pope who was still holier, by the parity of his morals, and his eminent plety, than by his dignity, though it be the first of the Christian world. He immediately wrote to him on that subject in very warm terms; and the chevalier de Cambian, his embassador, delivered his letter, in which he represented to him, that if the cardinals of every na-

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tion should seize on the most considerable estates of the order, they would be left without any fund to enable them, pursuant to the intentions of their founders, to defend the Christian ships and coasts, and to carry on the war against the insidels. The holy father was touched with the force of these reasons, and seemed disposed to restore the priory to the order: but as the terms of the grand master's letter were not guarded enough, and that the embassador had, of his own head, been so imprudent as to disperse copies of it, the pope, offended at this breach of respect, ordered Cambian not to come into his presence. This gave the grand master fresh uneasiness, which, added to the vexation the young knights had given him, threw him into a deep

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melancholy.

LA VALETTE, in order to divert it, got on horseback a few days afterwards, and, being attended with his hunting equipage, went to a plain near the leeshore of St. Paul, to amuse himself with hawking. But that day, which was July the 19th, proving excessive hot, he was struck with a coup de soleil, which forced him to leave his sport, and occasioned a violent fever. A few days after, his illness not allowing him to apply himself so much as was necessary to the affairs of government, he empowered his lords of council to take them into their hands. His distemper lasted near three weeks longer, and grew daily more and more dangerous; when, at length, finding his ftrength decay, and his end drawing near, he prepared himself for it like a good Christian, and a true religious. He received all the facraments with great fervor and piety; and as he had renounced all property, by the vow he made of poverty at his admission into the order, that he might die in the same sentiments, he would not offer to make over any of his effects without the permission of the council, and therefore defired their leave to dispose of fifty slaves that belonged to him, and likeways the fum of 12,000 livres. Part of this money he employed in endowing a chappel which he had built in the new city, where he the same in the flower of the tage of the or have defired the

defired to be buried, and the rest he gave away in le-

gacies to his fervants.

HE afterwards fent for the lords of the council, and the principal commanders and knights, who were then at Malta, and exhorted them, in the most moving language, to maintain peace and unity among themselves, and to be exact in discharging their vow of obedience to the grand mafter, who should be chosen to succeed him. We are told that he recommended to their choice brother Anthony de Toledo, grand prior of Caftile, as a man who was most capable of supporting the dignity of the order. He declared that he forgave the knights who had offended him, and defired the lords of the council to re-admit the young knights, whom he had degraded of the habit, in case they thought it could be done without prejudice to their rules and inftitutions. Then addressing himself particularly to his nephews, he told them, that the practice of all the virtues of their condition would be the only path that would lead them to those dignities and that respect which ambitious men endeavour so eagerly to gain by cabals and the interest of the great. He then took leave of them all, and would not hear of any thing but what related to his falvation. A little after he felt the approaches of death. This warrior, who, during his whole life-time, and in the midst of the greatest dangers, had faced death with so much intrepidity was at that instant seized with a religious terror: they heard him call feveral times on his good angel for his affiltance; but these clouds were soon blown over, and he furmounted the horrors of this last combat with an entire confidence of GoD's mercy: his mind was calmed, and the ferenity of it appeared in his countenance, when, at last, calling devoutly on the holy name of Jesus and MARY, he ended an illustrious life by a peaceable and Christian death, upon the 21st of August 1568. His body was laid in the church of St. Laurence, in the chapel of St. Mary de Philermo, till fuch time as it could be removed into that of St. dind the G 3

Mary of Victory, which he had ordered to be built in the new city of la Valette, where he had defired to be buried; and it was accordingly carried thither after the election of his fuccessor.

THE convent met the next day to proceed to the election. Had the intentions of the last grand master been followed, don Antonio de Toledo, of the same family with the famous duke of Alva, would have been chosen his successor. He was a knight of singular valour, an excellent general; was generous, liberal, and, what was still more considerable, had a foul informed with the highest sentiments of piety and religion, and was particularly frict in the observance of the rules and statutes of the order; but, with all these shining qualities, a little too fond of his high birth. This turn of mind, which it is even dangerous to discover in a republic composed of nobility and gentry; a certain air of haughtiness which he affected; the very recommendation of la Valette, which, because of the strictness of his administration, was disagreeable to several knights; all these circumstances gave them reason to apprehend that Toledo would resemble him as much in his steadiness as he did in his valour, which, for that reason, turned all the votes of the affembly another way. There were feveral candidates, all of them great croffes, of the first and most ancient knights of the order.

ST. CLEMENT aspired to this dignity: he was a Spanish knight, pilier of the language of Arragon; his age, his long residence in the convent, his modesty, and his having past through most of the dignities of the order, might have naturally led him to the first; but his excessive avarice, and his fordid niggardlines in house-keeping, which the knights of his inn had been sensible of to their cost, made him so odious and insupportable, that they would not so much as hear of his pretensions.

THERE were at that time in Malta two great croffes, the one a Frenchman, called la Motte, the other a Spaniard, whose name was Maldonat, both of them

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intimate friends: they had often been out a cruiling together; were both men of courage, and from a fimilitude of tempers and inclinations, had made as it were a kind of partnership of the glory and profit which acerued to them from their captures. These two commanders, even in la Valette's life time, seeing him advanced in years, and worn out with the fatigues of war, formed a project for making the grand maltership fall, after his death, to some great cross, who should be chiefly obliged to them for it. With this view they, from that time, made it their bulinels to gain friends and creatures, and to make themselves the heads of a party who should have a great sway in the election. La Motte. who was polite, infinuating, and good-natured, found no difficulty in gaining over a great many friends. Maldonat was not possessed of these qualities, and was naturally proud and haughty: but then he supplied these defects by the frankness of his temper, the sums he generoully spent, his liberality, and the good offices which he did those knights who had served under him, and in the gallies which he commanded. The day of the election being fixed, they went the evening before to the commander de Rivalle's: this gentleman was of the illustrious house of Urlini, was at that time great admiral of the order, at the head of the language of Italy, and had moreover a great number of creatures and partifans. Rivalle, imagining he should infallibly be elected, received them in his bed, and, upon their offering him their own votes, and those of their friends. he answered them only with a pretended moderation, and with an air that was cold enough. Upon which the two commanders went out of his apartment, difgusted at the mysterious air he affected, and affronted at his having received them in bed. Maldonat, who was naturally hot and proud, could not forbear faying. that he should be very much surprised, if a man who had kept his bed so late on the eve of the election, should be chose grand master the next day.

THE two commanders gave their friends an account of the haughty reception they had met with from the admiral:

admiral; upon which they agreed to give their votes for some other person. Maldonat endeavoured at this meeting to gain over the votes of the company for himfelf; but the knights, knowing his imperious temper. did not think him a fit man to prefide over persons of quality, who had been brought up in a spirit of liberty. They gave him however some hopes, but that only in general terms, and he foon perceived that his most intimate friends would fail him on this occasion: la Motte likewise advised him to defist from an attempt that could not possibly succeed, whereupon they agreed together to declare in favour of the chevalier de Monte. grand prior of Capua, who was one of the candidates for the election, and had a confiderable party in his intereft. They, in their resentment against Rivalle, had pitched upon Monte, in hopes, that, as they were all of the language of Italy, they might for that reason draw off a good number of the votes of that language from Rivalle. Accordingly the two friends went to his house. This gentleman had passed through all the employments and dignities of the order; had been general of the gallies, admiral, governor of the caltle of St. Angelo, and of the peninsula de la Sangle, where he had acquired no small share of glory in the last siege. La Motte and Maldonat met with him in his hall, furrounded with a great number of knights. They, in like manner, as they had done to Rivalle, offered him their own votes, and those of their friends. Monte. knowing the credit and interest they would have in the election, was more politic on this occasion than Rivalle had been: he gave them a most obliging reception, and affured them of his highest acknowledgements.

THE whole convent met the next day in the church of the priory of St. John, when all the languages went into their respective chapels, in order to proceed to the choice of two electors for each language. La Motte was one of the number, and was chosen knight of the election. He had the dexterity to get the greatest part of the co-electors to be chosen from among such of his friends

friends as he could most rely on. The president gave each of them a ballot, or voting-ball: but as there were sixteen electors, la Motte, as knight of the election, had two ballots, to prevent an equality of votes. After the oaths and eeremonies usually performed in these cases, the electors, by a plurality of Peter De Monte. Monte for grand master. His name was Guidalotti; but as he was great nephew by the mother's side to pope

Julius III, of the family of Monte, he, for that reason had affumed that name, which his valour, and the brave defence he had made at the siege of Malta against the continual affaults, which the Turks had made both by sea and land upon the peninsula de la Sangle, had fufficiently illustrated. The first care of the new grand master was to pay the funeral honours to his predecessor: his body had been depolited, as was before observed, in the church of our lady of Philermo by the grand master's order; it was put on board the admiral galley, wich was without any equipage or mast, and was towed by two other gallies, both of them armed, hung with black cloth, and carrying feveral enfigus and banners, which he had taken from the Turks and other infidels, all of them trailing in the water. These were followed by two other gallies, which had belonged to the late grand malter, covered with black cloth, and other funeral ornaments, having the grand master elect, the lords of the council, the commanders, and principal knights on board. This funeral procession went out of the great port in this folemn and mournful manner, and entered into that of Muset. The household of the deceased, his officers and fervants, all in deep mourning, went first on shore, most of whom had torches in their hands, and others carried the standards which had been taken from the Turks. The clergy marched after the prince's household, carrying his corps, and chanting the fervice of the church. After these came the grand mafter, and all the lords of the council, and were fol-

lowed by the body of the knights. The come of the deceased was carried into the chapel of our lady of victory, which la Valette had built at his own expence, in the new city, which he had chose for the place of his burial, where they deposited his remains, and divine fervice was afterwards performed with all the ceremonies of the church, and all the honours due to the memory There were some and in the land were

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MONG the several authors who have writ the general history of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whether in Italian, Latin, French or Spanish, not one of them has carried his account of it lower than the last siege of Malta: 1565. all these writers leave off, as it were by concert, at that famous epocha, fancying, probably, that they could not better end their works, than with the conclusion of that bloody war; perhaps too, as the forces of both parties, being equally exhausted, might have afterwards produced fewer of those great events that merit a place in history.

Whatever might have been their different motives, I have followed the same method in the plan and distribution of my work. The thirteenth book ends at the raising of the siege of Malta, and the deseat of Mustapha, general to Solyman II. I have only added what passed in the last years of la Valette's government till the death of that great man, the glory and ornament of his age, as well as of his order. If the history of a king ends generally with his life, it is not the same in that of a republic, which ought to be continued as long as the same form of government exists. So that the authors who, after me, shall transmit to posted rity the series of events that have happened in this orader, may begin where I leave off. However, till such

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time as some new writer shall think fit to continue it, or I myself may have health enough to collect memoirs, and carry on my history to our own times, I thought myself obliged, for the satisfaction of the public, to add, after the thirteen former books, a soutcenth in the form of annals, and by way of supplement, containing a summary account of the principal events that have happened in the order, from the election of the prior de Monte, the immediate successor of la Valette, to that of don Manuel de Vilhena, the present auspicious governor of this illustrious order.

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When they followed a construction of the fing and there is not followed a construction of the fing and differentiation of the work, (I constructed took cast, at the indice of the diago of the late, and the define of the second of the Source II. There are absent what parties in the I type of la Valence's government of the defined that great man, the gloty and other could of his not, as well as at his mode. It then fallers of a king casts removed by his late that the casts removed by his late that had not not at his not of a king casts removed by his late that had not not at his late.

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St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Drawn up in a succin@ manner.

THE 23d of August, A. D. 1568, brother PETER DE MONTE, or DU MONT, grand prior of Capua, was elected grand master. PETER DE His name was Guidalotti; but being great MONTE. nephew by the mother's side to pope Julius III. of the house of Monte, he, for that reason, took the name and arms of that family.

DAME Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand prioress 1569.

of the royal house of Sixene, of the order of
St. John of Jerusalem, situated, as has been already observed, in the kingdom of Arragon, returned to her
obedience, with the consent of her whole community,
and put herself under the government and particular
authority of the grand master, from which that house
had withdrawn itself for near an hundred years, on
pretence that it depended only on the holy see.

SELIMUS II. emperor of the Turks, undertakes the conquest of the isle of Cyprus, and on that account declares war against the Venetians. The progress of this war; and the taking of Nicosia and Famagusta by the insidels, gives occasion to a league Vol. V.

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between the pope, the king of Spain, and the Vene-

The chevaliers de St. Aubin, Roquelaure, and Ferrand de Coiro, famous cruizers, take con1570. fiderable prizes in the Egyptian sea, and in the very mouth of the Nile. But these advantages, which accrued only to the profit of some private men, do not compensate the order for the great loss it sustains, by the defeat of St. Clement. Lucchiali, a famous corsair, at the head of a strong squadron, surprises that of Malta, under the command of this knight, takes three gallies from him, and forces the admiral to run a-ground off of the tower of Monchi-

aro, in the ifle of Sicily. This impropitious event is

followed with the fatal death of St. Clement.

The battle of Lepanto between the Christians and insidels. The Turks lost 30,000 men in it:

1571. their general was killed, two of his sons were taken prisoners, together with 5000 officers or soldiers: 20,000 Christian slaves recover their liberty: they took 140 gallies from the insidels, not to mention such as were either burnt or sunk. The Christians on their side lost 7600 men, and sourceen captains of the gallies. Though the order had sent no more than three gallies, nevertheless the knights bravely signalized themselves in this engagement.

In the fame year the grand malter having, with great expense, finished the building of the new city, called the city of la Valette, the foundation of which had been laid by the grand master of that name, he

transports the residence of the convent thither.

THE distribution of the principal dignities of the order. Brother Francis Burges is made bailist of Majorca: brother Francis d'Arquembourg Tourville quite the dignity of hospitaller for the grand priory of Champagne: brother Peter Pelloquin succeeds him in the post of hospitaller, after having quitted the dignity of bailist of the Morea, which, upon his abdication, is given to brother William deMalin-le-Lux: this last resigns the post of great treasurer, which is given to brother Christopher de Montgaudri. After all these several removals, the

refignation of the commander de d'Arquembourg Tourville, at the request of Charles the ninth, bestows the
grand priory of Champagne upon the chevalier de Sevre.

The death of the grand master de Monte, aged
76. Brother John L'evesque de La

Cassiere, of the language of Auvergne, John L'
and marshal of the order, is elected grand Evesque
master; and the next day after his election, he is in full council acknowledged Cassiere
sovereign prince of the islands of Malta

UNDER his administration a new promoti- 1572. on is made in the dignities of the order. 27. Jan. The commander brother Mark de la Goutte, of the language of Auvergne, is made grand marshal of the order, which post was vacant by the election of la Cassere to the grand mastership. The commander brother Hubert Solar is made lieutenant to the great admiral, and afterwards prior of Lombardy. Brother Justinian, general of the gallies, having completed his two years offervice, is succeeded by brother Philip Flach, grand bailiff of Germany. Brother Francis Pouget is made captain of the admiral galley; and brother Pompey Soard, commander of the galley of St. Peter. Brother Francis Mego of the ille of Rhodes, after having executed the office of auditor, under the grand mafters d'Omedes, la Valette, Monte, and la Cassiere, is made vice-chancellor of the order, upon the promotion of Rojas Chapelain to the bishopric of Malta. The commander Francis de Moretton Chabrillan, and Dr. Melchior Cagliares, are appointed fyndics, to examine the conduct of the judges in civil and criminal cafes. We then the control of gifter

BROTHER Jeromde Guette, great conserva1573.
tor, is sent embassador to Rome, to take the
oath of obedience to Gregory XIII. successor to Pius V.
GREAT preparations are made at Malta, to
oppose the grand seignior Selimus II. who
1574.
had threatened to fall upon the island with all his forces:

and Goza.

but he employs them another way, and takes the fort of Goletta, and the city of Tunis.

THIS year the inquisition is said to have been set up

in the ifle of Malta.

THE death of Selimus II: who fucceeded is

by Amurath III. his eldeft fon.

A great dispute between the order and the republic of Venice about a ship richly laden with merchandize belonging to some Jews, which the knights seize upon as their prize.

ANOTHER dispute between several commanders of the language of Provence, about the grand priory of Toulouse. Romegas is made general of the gallies.

On occasion of the reports of an invasion which the Turks intended speedily against Malta, the grand 1576. master and council are reproached for making no provision against it (under pretence that the king of Spain was as much concerned as themselves, in the preservation of the island) and of being guilty of a neglect which might prove very prejudicial to the order.

BROTHER John George de Schonborn is by the council appointed to redreis the abuses which had crept into the commandries of Germany by the mal-admini-

stration of the particular receivers.

The chevalier de Mendosa, as yet only a probationer, arrives at Malta with a brief from the pope, who orders, that as soon as he shall have made his vows, he shall take the great cross, with the title of turcopilier, annexed to the language of England. This causes a general discontent in the convent, who send embassadors to the pope to engage him to revoke the brief, granted to a young man who had no experience, and who yet was going to be one of the eight piliers, or chiefs of the whole order.

The affair of the Jews of Venice comes again upon the earpet. The senate, by way of reprisals, sequester all the estates which the order had within the territories of the republic. The grand master, on this occasion, sends an embassador to Rome, to represent to the pape,

that

that as those Jews were not subjects of the republic, it was a constant practice, and which was moreover allowed by all laws whatever, to seize upon an enemy's robe, as counterband goods, though it be found on board a friend's ship. This affair was concluded to the satisfaction of the senate; the knights were obliged to restore the booty which they had taken from the Levantine Jews, and the senate took off the sequestration.

THE chevalier Correa, a Portuguese, is affassinated by six other knights, his countrymen, who, putting on false beards, got by that means into his apartment. They are arrested, and prosecuted, and the secular judge condemns them to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the sea.

THE corfairs of Algiers take the galley of St. Paul, which belonged to the order.

THERE was in the house of Austria, of the German branch, a young prince, Archduke Wenceslaus by name, who took the cross and habit as knight of Malta. The pope, at the king of Spain's request, gave him a brief, in the form of gratia expectative, a kind of bull, dated March the 10th, 1577, to qualify him to enjoy the dignity of grand cross, the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, after the death of the incumbents; which the grand master and council, in consideration of the protection the order received from the king of Spain, were obliged to pass, after the German prince had made his vows.

FRANCE, at the same time, made another invasion, in prejudice of the rights of seniority, and the privileges of the order. The council of Henry III. having issued out an order, authorizing the king to name some of his subjects to the grand priory of Auvergne, that prince wrote to the grand master to procure the three grand priories of France, St. Giles and Champagne, for France

cis de Lorraine the queen's brother.

The order had another from breaking out upon it from Germany, where it was debated in a diet, whether it would be proper to oblige the knights of Malta, of

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the German language, to incorporate themselves with the Teutonic knights, and unite their commandries to that order, to render it thereby more powerful, and better able to make war upon the infidels in Hungary. But this went no farther, the proposal being baffled by the skill and dexterity of the commander Scaglia, a Piedmontele, and at that time embassador from the order to the diet.

THE grand duke of Tuscany sends the chevalier Bongianni Giantigliazzi, with the grand ma-

1577. ster's leave, as his embassador to Constantinople. The Turkish sultan, in a private conversation which he had with him, shewing him a plan of the city of la Valette, asked the embassador is it was drawn exactly, and whether the place was as well fortisted as it appeared to be? "Sir, (replied the knight) he who drew this plan forgot its chief for tisication, which consists in the courage and valour of above a thousand knights, who are ever ready to sight to the last drop of their blood in defence of the place."

TROUBLES in the order, raised by eight Castilian knights, who complained against the grand 1578. master and the council, as having greatly

wronged them and their whole language, in confenting to the disposition which the pope and the king of Spain had made of the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, in favour of the archduke Wenceslaus. The malecontents were instigated underhand by feveral great croffes, who fomented the fedition. The grand mafter has recourse to the pope, who cites the mutineers to appear before him: they own their fault, and the grand master, under pretence that as they had not any commandries, nor any pa-trimony or money of their own, it would be impossible for them to undertake fuch a journey, prevails with the pope to excuse them from coming to Rome; they were however obliged to appear before him in full council, with each of them a wax taper in his hand, in order to make him and the council fatisfaction, and to ask his

his pardon: which was granted them, after their having been first severely reprimanded by the grand master.

The death of the grand prior of Bohemia. The emperors had taken upon them to nominate to it, and the order for a long time had neither enjoyed the perfonal estate of those who died, nor the mortuary, nor the profits arising from the vacancy of the priory. The grand master and council appoint the bailiss de Schomborn their embassador at the imperial court. This knight has a conference at Prague with brother Christopher de Verdemberg, who had very great interest with the emperor: and, to engage him to support the rights of the order, the bailiss delivers him an instrument and a bull from the grand master, by which he constituted him grand prior of Bohemia: which affair succeeds agreeable to the intentions and the desires of the grand masser.

HENRY, king of Portugal, acquaints the grand mafter with the death of his nephew king Sebaltian, who was killed the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcaçer, where several commanders of the order of St. John likewise lost their lives, and notifies at the same time his own accession to the throne.

BROTHERS Gargallo bishop of Malta, and 1579. Cressin prior of the church, both of them men of restless and turbulent spirits, began to raise a storm, which broke out about this time, against the grand matter their benefactor.

THE death of the archduke Wenceslaus, grand prior of Castile and Leon, which is followed by that of Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V.

BROTHER Justiniani, grand prior of Messina, is named embassador to the courts of Castile and Portugal, to make the compliments of condolance upon the death of those several princes, and particularly to make sure of succours from thence, that the order might be the better enabled to oppose the Turks, who again threatened to invade Malta.

BISHOP

BISHOP Gargalla, renewing his increachments on the authority of the grand malter and 1579. council, pretends to make a judicial vilitation of the hospital of the Notable-city, in which he is opposed by the administrators, as being subject to no authority but that of the grand master and council. The bishop excommunicates them: the clergy side with him, and levy contributions to support the expences of this dispute. The order appoints brother Damientaliata, a Maltese divine, of the order of St. Dominic, to defend their privileges. The magistrates of the cities present a petition to the grand master, complaining that the friends and creatures of the bishop fallied out of his palace in arms, and abused the citizens who perfifted in the obedience which they owed their fovereign. The grand master, to put a stop to this disorder, settles a guard of fifty men in the town, now called the Victorious City.

The grand master sends brother Hugh de Loubens de Verdalle as his embassador to the pope, to acquaint him with these disturbances, and gives him instructions to apply to his holiness for a confirmation of the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order; and likewise to grant leave for the prior of the church to confer, in case of the bishop's refusal, the lesser orders, not excepting those of deacons, upon young candidates for the ecclesiastical profession. The pope appoints the archbishop of Palermo to take cognizance of these disputes; but that prelate, upon his arrival at Malta, finds the animostices carried to such a height, that he remits the cognizance of the affair to the holy see, and the bishop goes to Rome to defend

his conduct.

A GREAT conspiracy against the life of the grand master, whom three officers of the inquisition 1580. had resolved to poison: they are arrested, and accuse several knights, some of whom were great crosses, and particularly one Petrucci, inquistor of Malta, of being their accomplices. Some knights of the languages of Italy, Arragon, and Castile.

file, force their way tumultuously into the council, infult the grand master, and, without any respect to his dignity, challenge him to declare what proof he had of their having conspired against his life. And althouthe vice-chancellor told them, that they had not been so much as once mentioned in the council, they yet were not satisfied, but insisted that the order should send three embassadors to the pope, who were brother Anthony de Villars, grand prior of Auvergne, brother Francis Guiral, bailist of Negrepont, and brother Anthony de Bologna, bailist of St. Stephens. But Bologna and Guiral, not caring to intermeddle in so troublesome an affair, excused themselves from the journey, on pretence of their ill state of health; which a little damped the heat and animosity of the most violent.

THE bailiff of Brandenburg, and several knights of the bailings of Sonneberg, are cited before the council of the order, for having, in opposition to their profes-

fion, embraced the Lutheran religion.

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THE emperor pretends he has a right to nominate to the grand priory, and the commandries of the kingdom of Bohemia.

THE council, supported by the greatest part of the convent, rebel against la Cashere. This fedition was raised on three several accounts. The first was because of the grand master's having forbid the knights of different languages to favour particularly the nations and princes whole subjects they were born: his reason for it was, because the Spaniards, who, fince the time of Charles V. had been bred up under the formidable power of the house of Austria, were for bringing the whole order to crouch to it. The fecond cause was, the grand master's having issued out a public proclamation to clear the town and city of la Valette of all loofe and diforderly women, and his having forced them either to quit the island, or retire into the villages and hamlets which lay remote from the residence of the convent. The third occasion was owing to the ambition of fome great croffes who aspired to the grand mastership; and who, seeing the grand master, though he was very old, nevertheless enjoyed his health very well, were afraid they should not outlive him, and therefore resolved either to depose him, or force him to abdicate, and by that means make

a vacancy in his dignity.

THE languages of Castile and Portugal, some add those of Arragon and Germany, several knights of the three languages of France, with Mathurin del Escur, called Romegas, at their head, meet in a tumultuous manner, and complain, that the grand mafter, by the several orders he issued out, plainly manifested that his understanding was in a manner gone : that he was more intent upon the conduct of the Maltele women, than upon the enterprises of the Turks and the Corfairs of Barbary; that he took no care of filling the magazines of Malta; that he was always affeep at council, and did nothing when he was awake but plague his knights: and thereupon they fend deputies to him to propose to him his naming of a lieutenant, fince he himself was incapable of the administration. Upon his refusal, a full council meets at brother Cressin's, who was prior of the church, and the main spring of this sedition, when they appoint Romegas, prior of Touloule and Ireland, to be lieutenant of the maltership; the Spanish knights having preferred him before others of their own nation, in hopes of engaging the languages of France on their fide. Such was the refult of this feditious affembly, whose aim was to suspend from his lawful authority, a grand master, who was valuable for his wildom, his piety and valour, only to put in his flead a knight, given up a prey to ambition, brave indeed and fuceefsful in cruifing, but of a favage nature, cruel to his enemies; and whose only merit was his being a formidable corfair.

BESIDES Romegas, who was in reality, though fecretly, at the head of the conspiracy, and who, in outward appearance, seemed only to be drawn in to acquiesce to the sentiments of the greatest part of the knights, there were four others who acted openly argainst the grand master. The first was Cressin, whom

Dans

the grand master had made prior of the church. This wretch seemed to be the most bitter enemy his benefactor had. The second was the bailiss Rivalle, who, having missed of the grand mastership, when Monte carried it from him, fancied he should get it, in case la Cassiere could be deposed. The third was Ducro, a great cross; and the fourth, who was Romegas's creature and consident, was a Frenchman, the commander de Maillo-

Sacquenville by name.

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THESE four ringleaders of the sedition do not stop here; but, to carry their rebellion and outrage still further, they, at the head of their accomplices, rush into the grand master's palace; arrest him by virtue of an order of council; put him in an open chair, and carry him under a guard of soldiers, like a criminal to the castle of St. Angelo, where they kept him prisoner. All the way as he went from the city of la Valette to the castle, he was exposed to the shouts and insolence of several young knights, and of those scandalous prostitutes, who insulted and abused him with abominable language, by way of reproach; but this conduct on the contrary, before equitable judges, was real encombums that redounded to his glory.

The rebels, in order to get their proceedings approved of by the pope, the supreme head of the order, tent him three embassadors, the chief of whom was Sacquenville, the consident of Romegas, who got him named. The grand master, notwithstanding his close consinement, found means to send four other embassadors to Rome; these were the chevaliers de Blot Viviers, Peter Roux de Beauvais, brother Don Francis de

Guzman, and brother Angelo Pellegrini.

Two days after, Chabrillan, general of the gallies, returns back into the harbour of Malta, with the knights who had been out at sea with him. He was no sooner ashore but he desired to see the grand master, which the rebels durst not refuse him: whereupon he goes to the castle of St. Angelo, and offers the grand master to restore him to his authority, and carry him back to his palace at the head of 2000 men,

made

made up either of the forces he had on board his gallies, or of the knights and the worthiest people of the island, who detested this insurrection. But the generous old man answered him, with great wisdom, that he expected to be restored by the authority of the pope, the first superior of the order; and that he had rather end his days in prison, than give occasion to his knights, whom he always considered as his children, to fight

with one another upon his account.

THE embassadors of the two parties arrive at Rome: those of the mutineers, in order to bring his holiness to consent to the deposing of the grand master, represent him as an old man that had lost his senses, and who was incapable of governing the order. The pope, to prevent his being imposed upon by this affertion, sends Gaspar Viscenti, auditor of the Rota, as his nuncio, to Malta, to take cognizance of the affair on the place. This prelate, upon his arrival there, calls a general affembly of all the convent, and lays before them two briefs which he had brought with him; one for the grand master, and the other for Romegas; by which both of them were enjoined to come to Rome.

THE king of France, upon receiving advice of the shameful treatment which the grand master met with from his religious, sends him a knight to assure him that he will employ all his power to reduce the muti-

neers to their duty.

LA CASSIERE arrives at Rome, attended with 800 knights. He makes his entry into that capital of the Christian world as it were in triumph. The pope's court, the houses of the cardinals, several princes and embassadors, go a considerable way to meet him. His holines receives him with great marks of esteem, condoles and comforts him. Romegas sollicits an audience; but the pope sends him word, that he will not so much as see him, till be has first abdicated his post of seutenant of the mastership. Romegas is so prodigiously afflicted upon his receiving of this order, that he falls in a swoon, and is seized with a violent sever, which carries him off in a few days. His partisans are ordered

ordered to go and make their submissions to the grand mafter. The commander de Sacquenville, coming up to the grand malter, and going no further than asking to kis his hand, the cardinal de Montalto cried to him. "Down upon your knees, rebellious knight; had it not been for the goodness and clemency of your worthy grand mafter, your head had been chopped off fome days ago in the piazza Navona." Every body at Malta make their submissions. The pope was for having the grand master return to Malta, there to enjoy the authority to which he was restored; but providence disposed otherways of him, and he died at Rome after three months stay in that city. His corps was carried back to Malta, and his heart deposited at Rome, in the church of St. Lewis. His holiness ordered this inscription to be put over it, which was made by the famous M. Anthony Muret.

"Fratri Joanni episcopo, magno militiæ Hierosolymitanæ magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosissimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic calumniis spectata ac probata integritas, etiam enituit, sacra sodalitas
militum Hierosolymitanorum patriæ principi optimo
mærens posuit. Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12

" Kalend. Januarii 1582."

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THE grand mafter happening to die at Rome, made all the order afraid left the pope, as first superior, should take upon him to This was the occaname his fucceffor. fion of an embally, and a famous deputation, fent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. to intreat him not to infringe the order's right of election. pope ordered a fearch to be made into the registers of his predecessors, particularly those of Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. and, after coming to a resolution, dismissed the embassadors, with an affurance that he would, in a little time, fend them a brief to proceed to an election, without any further explanation of his intentions, of which he told them fignior Vifconti his nuncio was fully instructed.

In fact, upon the 12th of January 1582, the chapter being met, and the fixteen electors chose, his holi-Vol. V. ness's nuncio presented them a brief, wherein he allowed them indeed to proceed to a kind of choice, but confined them to chuse one of the three persons whom the pope had proposed, viz. Verdalle, a knight of the language of Provence, and great commander: Panisse,

HUGH DE LOU-ZENX DE VER-DALLE.

grand prior of St. Giles; and Chabrillan, bailiff of Manosque. VER-DALLE, who had been a long time embassador at Rome, and was very acceptable to the pope and all his

court, found the same favourable dispositions towards him in the chapter; accordingly he was chosen, and proclaimed grand master; and the pope ratisfied his election, and sent a brief to incorporate and unite the dignity of turcopilier to the grand mastership, a dignity which had been anciently annexed to the language of England.

A GENERAL chapter is held, which lays a general tax upon all the estates of the order.

The Venetians seize two gallies of the order, by way of reprisals, for some merchandize that had been taken in Turkish vessels, and which was claimed by Venetian merchants.

NEW fortifications ordered in the ille of Goza.

THE language of Italy carries the point of prece-

dence before that of Arragon.

THE profecution and trial of the chevali-1584. er Avogadre, general of the gallies: he is Jan. oth. deprived of his post, condemned to a year's imprisonment, and the revenues of his bailliage are conficated for three years, and paid in to the treasury of the order.

THE grand duke's gallies cruize in company with

those of the order.

BROTHER Claude of Lorrain, called the chevalier d'Aumale, arrives at Malta in a galley of his own.

JOHN Andrew Doria, generalishmo to the king of Spain, arrives at Malta, and has a conference with the grand master.

mercy and that were

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THE pope's brief, excluding the knights, and incapacitating them for being made either bishops of Malta, or priors of the church.

DEATH of pope Gregory XIII. The election of Six-

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A VENETIAN ship arrested by the gallies of the or-

der, by way of reprifals.

This year is spent in debating the grand mafer's right of nominating the general of the gallies, and the knight who was to have the particular command of the admiral galley.

An order forbidding any man's carrying 1586.

pocket piftols and stillettos about him; weapons fit only for banditti and affassins.

SACONNAI, grand marshal of the order, is 1587, punished for taking a knight's servant, who had been accused of thest, out of the prison of the Castellany.

CHARLES d'Orleans is put in possession of the grand priory of France, without any reservation, and in the very same manner that Henry de Angoulème had en-

joyed it.

BROTHER Michael de Sevre, grand prior of Champagne, takes a very inconfiderate step, and appeals from the decrees of the last general chapter, to the secular tribunal.

THE spirit of sedition still continues in the convent.

The grand master goes to Rome. The pope, to silence the malecontents, creates him a cardinal, and sends him back to Malta.

SEVERAL prizes taken by the knights who 1588.

were out a cruifing.

THE grand mafter makes choice of James 1589. Bosio to write the history of the order, which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Foffan.

DEATH of pope Sixtus Quintus, who is fue- 1590.

ceeded by Gregory XIV.

THE Jews and their effects are, by a particular brief of the pope, declared to be lawful prize.

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THE plague makes dreadful havock in the island of Malta. The Jesuits are brought in by bishop Gargallo, and settle there.

THE commander John Otho Bosio is made

1593. vice-chancellor.

THE pope grants the priory of Barletto, vacant by the death of cardinal Scipio of Gonzaga, to prince Ferdinand of Gonzaga, afterwards cardinal, and, at last, duke of Mantua.

THE grand priory of Venice, after having been possessed by cardinal Farnese, devolves to

cardinal Colonna.

HENRY IV. after the death of Henry III. and during the time of the civil wars, disposes of the grand priory of Aquitain in favour of the commander de Chattes; and of that of Auvergne in favour of the baron de Bellegarde, though he was a layman.

THE dignity of cardinal, which the pope had conferred on the grand master, is not sufficient to put a stop to the restless and seditious hu-

mour of the malecontents: so that this prince, tired out with their continual murmurs and complaints, makes another voyage to Rome, and dies of grief.

BROTHER don MARTIN GARZEZ, of the language of Arragon, is chosen grand MARTIN master. He had no favourites, no partia-GARZEZ. lity, and his government was agreeable both to the knights and the people.

POPE Clement VIII. confers the priory of Pila upon

don Antonio de Medicis.

THE Turks ravage Hungary; and the council of the order, to encourage the fuccouring of that 1507. nation, declares, by a folern edict, that any

knights who should serve in that country against the insidels, the order will reckon that service an equivalent to their residence, and that they shall be intitled to the same privileges as if they had resided in the convent, or had served on board the vessels of the order.

THE

THE emperor of Rodolph II. iffues out a diploma, which terminates the affair of Bohemia to the latisfaction of the order.

NEW troubles at Malta, occasioned by the proceedings of the inquisitors, whose successfors carry them to a still greater height.

THE grand master and the council make a decree in favour of the Swiss, allowing their children to be received into the priory of Germany, provided these children are born in lawful wedlock of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, all Roman catholics, and statutably qualified, who had never been mechanics, but descended from officers, captains, and commanders, whose profession of arms was to be considered on the footing of nobility.

THE century ends with the fortifications which the grand master and the council make in the castle and isse of Goza.

THE bailliage of Armenia suppressed. Great 1600. disputes between the languages of Italy and Germany, both of them claiming the priory of Hungary.

THE inquisitors, to make their court to the pope, are continually making incroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, and make themselves odious and insupportable to the knights.

DEATH of the grand master don Martin de Garzez.
Brother ALOF DE VIGNACOUR, grand
hospitaller of France, is chosen to succeed 1601.
him. This knight, who was of the lan-ALOF DE
guage of France, and of a very antient fa-VIGNAmily of the province of Picardy, was great cour.
cross and hospitaller of the order, when his
merit raised him to the dignity of grand master: and
there has hardly ever been a mastership more famous
than his; whether we consider its duration, which was
upwards of twenty years, or the various events that
happened in the order during his administration.

TABLE

THE grand master dispatched several embassadors to notify his election to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The commander Rodrigo Britto was sent to the pope; brother Nicholas Dellamara to the emperor; brother William de Meaux Bois Boudran was employed in the same quality at the court of the king of France; and don Bernard de Zuniga at that of his catholic majesty.

THE inquifitor Veralli is for taking cognizance of the affairs of the government; in which he is openly

countenanced by pope Clement VIII.

THE gallies of the order seize upon the town of Mahometa, on the coast of Barbary; an enterprize formed with great prudence, and executed with as much valour.

EMERY de Chattes made embaffador of the order to

king Henry IV.

ENTERPRIZE of the knights upon the towns of Le-

1603. A GENERAL chapter held.

THE gallies of the order ravage the ifle of Lango, formerly so dear to the knights, during their residence at Rhodes; but now their successors carry off 165 slaves, out of hatred to the Turks.

1605. DEATH of pope Clement VIII.

PAUL V. his successor, gives three commandries of the language of Italy to one of his nephews, 1606. though they did not happen to fall vacant in the court of Rome: and a little while afterwards, he likeways conferred the commandry of Benevento upon cardinal Buffaio.

PROJECT of a knight, a Dalmatian by birth, but of the language of Germany, proposed to the 1607. order, for getting the Poles to restore the great commandry of Poina, which was fallen into secular hands, upon condition of establishing a body of knights in that kingdom, to serve on horseback against the Turks; which did not succeed, by reason of the obstacles

obstacles put in the way by a prince of the house of Radzivil, whose ancestors or relations had probably got pessession of it.

TROUBLES at Malta in the inn and language of Germany, on account of an attempt which had been made to get Charles count of Brie, 1608.

natural ion to Henry duke of Lorrain, admitted into that language; the affair is carried to such an height, that the Germans tear down the arms of the grand master and the order from off the gate of their inn, and leave only those of the emperor.

FRANCIS de Lorrain, called the chevalier de Gurle, makes his first campaign on board

the gallies of Malta.

THE chevaliers Fresenet, Maurot, and Gaucort, surprise the fortress of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name, make their way into it by means of a petard, which blew up the gate; take a great booty, and, after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off above 300 slaves.

A YEAR fatal to France and the order of Malta, by the affaffination of Henry the great.

CORINTH taken and facked by the gallies 1617.

THE prince of Vendoline made general of the gallies of the order.

THE grand master upon receiving advice that the corsairs of Barbary designed to make an attempt upon the isle of Goza, sends troops, 1613. ammunition, and provisions thither.

A New alarm in the language of Italy, by the pope's granting the duke of Modena's fon the gratic expectative, a kind of bull, upon the 1614, commandry of Reggio: a favour of a dangerous nature from the ill consequences that might enfue.

SIXTY Turkish gallies appear off of the isle 1615.
of Malta, and land 5000 men, but are able to

make no flaves from the care the inhabitants take toretire into the strong holds.

The grand maîter makes an aqueduct to carry a fine large spring from the city of Malta commonly 1616. called the Notable-city, to the city of Valette, and the piazza before the grand massive street.

fter's palace : a work worthy of the Roman grandeur.

The duke of Nevers is for founding a new order, or, properly speaking, for separating the old one of St. Sepulchre from the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Brother don Lewis Mendez de Vasconcellos, bailist of Acre, a very able negotiator, is dispatched to the court of France, to traverse the duke's designs. He arrives in France with the quality of embassador extraordinary, and went to his first audience attended by the commander de Silery embassador in ordinary, brother de St. Leger, receiver of the priory of France, the commander de Formigeres captain of the life-guards, the commander de Girlande, and all the knights who were then at Paris, and about the court. He presented his letter to the king, who gave as favourable an answer to it as could be wished, and the duke of Nevers's project came to nothing.

FACARDIN, prince of the Druli, comes to Malta, to

the grand feignior's perfecutions.

Bos10, who was only an honorary knight, pretending to dispute precedence with a knight 1617. who was his senior, was made sensible that his

feniority could not be reckoned but from the ay of his rehabilitation, and that an honorary knight could never be advanced to the dignities of the erder.

1618. The treasury of the order cause a gallion to be built in the port of Amsterdam, which costs 60,000 crowns of gold.

New fortifications raised in the roads of St. Paul, of María-Sirocco, and María Scala, and in the little of Comino, situated between Malta and Goza.

CAGLIARES,

CAGLIARES, bishop of Malta, makes several ineroachments on the authority of the grand master and council: he goes to Rome to support 1619.
them, and leaves behind him a vicar-general
as pragmatical as himself. The young knights of all
the languages, unable to endure the audaciousness of
that turbulent fellow, run to look for him in his house,
in order to throw him into the sea. The grand master
obliges him to surrender himself, and sends him to
Rome to answer the prosecution against him. The
pope is incensed at this affair, orders his inquisitor to
examine into it, and threatens to excommunicate the
grand master and council, whose submission at last puts
an end to the affair.

THE army of the catholic league make an unfuccelsful attempt in order to seize upon the town of Suiz on the coast of Barbary. A considerable number of knights had a share in this expedition, among whom are reckoned brother Anthony Barras, brother Francia Juxs, brother de la Meusana, brother Merault de Pelons, brother Melchior de Gozon-Melac, brother Anthony an honorary knight, captain of foot in the service of the king of Spain: and among the wounded were brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre, captain of the admiral-galley of the order, brother Anthony Mastrillo, captain of the patroness, brother John de Saligy, a native of Anvergne, brother Cesar de St. Peryer, of the language of France, who died at Malta of his wounds, brother Azeredos Castisian, and brother Luys Mendez Vasconcellos, a Portuguese.

FRANCIS Ottoman, a dominican friar, who pretended to be fon to the grand feiguior Achmet, comes to Malta, and is received there upon the recommendation of cardinal Verally, prelident of the congregation of the Catechumens.

ENTERPRISE of the gallies of the order upon Castel-Tornez, The commander brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre is named by the general of the gallies to head that enteprise. They clap three petards to the gate, and break into the palace; which was a kind of ma-

tollon

gazine to all the Morea. The general of the gallies has notice given him by a Greek, that in case he does not retire immediately, his retreat will be intercepted by 4000 Turks who were hard by. He orders a retreat to-be sounded, and St. Pierre, who received the same advice, forms a squadron, and makes his way to the sea with the booty and the prisoners he had taken.

DEATH of Paul V, who is succeeded by Gregory XV. This pope issues out bulls to confirm all the privileges which his predecessors had grant-

ed to the order.

NEW complaints of the language of Italy, on account of being deprived of their right of succeeding 1622. to the vacant commandries, by the popes nomination to them oftentimes before they became so.

THE commander de Chatte Gessan is sent to Malta by king Lewis XIII. to desire the order to join their gallies to his, in order to sight against the Hugonots.

THE chevalier de Casselani de Montemedan is by the council ordered to go with the gallies to Marseilles, and to carry thither the great gallion which had been built

at Amsterdam.

The grand master de Vignacour being a hunting, and pursuing a hare in all the heat of the month of August, was seized with a sit of an apoplexy, just as had happened sifty years before to the grand master de la Valette. They carried him to the new city, where he appointed brother Nicholas la Mara, great admiral of the order, to be his lieutenant. He afterwards received the facraments of the church with great devotion, disposed of his effects as usual, and died on the 14th of September, being 75 years old.

THE chapter met, to chuse him a successor. There were two pretenders, viz. Luys Mendez de Vasconcellos a portuguese, bailist of Acre, who had been embatsador from the order to the courts of Rome and France,

ANDEZ Brother don Luys Mendez had the preference, and was accordingly proclaimed grand.

mafter on the 17th of September; but he hardly enjoyed his dignity fix months; and the little time that he outlived Vignacour, was employed in confirming the wife regulations he had made. The grand mafter being near fourfcore years of age, died on the fixth of March 1623.

THE 10th of the same month, they proceeded to the election of a new grand master, and the choice of the

convent fell upon brother Anthony de

Paule, prior of St. Giles, being seventy ANTHONY one years old. The commander de DE PAULE.

Tormegeres, embaffador of the order

in France, dying about this time, the commander Durand de Villegagnon, was put a second time into that post, to notify the election of the new grand master to Lewis XIII.

DEATH of pope Gregory XV. who is succeeded by Urban VIII. This pope gets Anthony Barberini, his great nephew, to be received into the order as a chevalier de Justice, with a dispensation for keeping his residence, and serving in the gallies of the order.

JOHN de Fonseca, a Portuguese novice, or probationer, has his head cut off in the great plazza of the palace, after having been found guilty of robbery and

murder.

BROTHER Faulcon, prior of Capua, being convicted of embezzelling 15000 ducats of the revenue received from Naples, 2000 crowns of 1624; that of Rome, and 15000 ducats more of what the grand master Lewis Mendez left behind him, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and dies in prison.

The grand master does not want enemies among a set of men, who are impudent enough to fancy they can out-face truth, and make the blackest falsehoods pass for matters of fact. They present a memorial to the pope, wherein they take notice that the grand master is a man of loose life and conversation; that he is guilty of simony, and had bought his dignity with money. De Paule sent the commander brother Denis

Polastron

PEG COLLA

Polastron de la Hilliere to Rome; who, heing a man of the greatest probity and virtue, justified him in the most honourable manner from all these calumnies. The grand mafter had hardly got rid of this affair, when he had another upon his hands, which was full as troublesome, because pope Urban VIII. was both judge and party in it. His holiness took upon him to dispose of the commandries of the language of Italy. He had before given the two commandries of Milan and Bufalora, to don Antonio Barberini his nephew, and he afterwards gave that of Ascoli to the chevalier Machiavelli; that of Volterra to the chevalier brother Donat Rustici; the right of seniority to the commander brother Hubert Ricafoli, and the commandry of Monopoli to the chevalier brother Alexander Zambeccari. These new concessions, added to those of the popes Paul V. and Gregory XV. which were computed to amount to no less than 17 commandries, put all the language of Italy in a flame. The knights refused to make their campaigns, or to serve on board the Thips or gallies of the order; and most of them retired to their own houses and relations. The grand master, to remedy this diforder, called a council, when it was, agreed, that they should send an embassador to the pope, to lay before him the just complaints of the order. They likewise sent three others on the same account, to the principal fovereigns of Christendom. Brother James du Liege-Charault, grand hospitaller, was ordered to Rome; brother John Conrard de Rofbach, bailiff of Brandenburgh, was fent to the emperor; la Marra, prior of Mellina, and general of the gallies, to the king of France; and brother don John Ximenes, prior of Navarre, to the king of Spain. These embassadors were likewise directed to lay before those princes, an account of the abuse of certain dispensations which were granted to the knights at Rome. by which they were allowed to dispose of their effects, whereby the common treasury was defrauded of its right, and which could end no otherwise than in the Million williams

the ruin of the order. We shall take notice of the issue of this embassy to Rome under the year 1626.

The order makes an attempt upon the island of Santa Maura, in possession of the Turks, which miscarries: twelve knights were kill- 1625. ed in it, besides a great number who were wounded.

A GREAT sea-engagement, in which the order loses two gallies, the St. John and the St. Francis: several knights were killed in it, others wounded, and some made slaves.

To these missortunes must be added another; for the pope, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the grand master, and the council, continues 1626. to bestow the Italian commandries on his relations.

THE order had hitherto never kept up above 1627. five gallies, but the grand master now causes a fixth to be built.

URBAN, who was no friend to the order, not fatisfied with plundering it of its principal commandries in Italy, which he bestowed upon his 1628. relations, now publishes an ordinance, motu proprio, changing the method that had been always hitherto observed in the election of the grand masters.

BROTHER Achilles d'Estampes Valençai 1629. is made a great cross de grace (or by favour) upon the recommendation of Lewis XIII. king of France.

ANTONIO Bosio, who was natural fon to the bailiff brother John Otho, and adopted by his uncle James Bosio, made a great progress in polite literature, and especially in the knowledge of ecclesiastical history; so that his prosound capacity, threw as it were a shade over the meanness of his extraction, as may be seen by his several works; particularly that of Roma subterranea. He succeeds his adoptive father in the post of agent to the order at Rome; and being the last Vol. V.

person left of his name, he succeeds this year to all the estate and effects of the family.

THE pope, still intent upon reducing the government of the order, agreeable to his secret views, is for changing the old usage that 1630.

had been observed in general chapters.

Some Christian slaves, who composed the crew of a Turkish galley, commanded by Manni-Bei of Famagusta in the isle of Cyprus, rebel against 1631. him, take up arms, and either kill the captain and the soldiers of the galley, or force them to leap over-board, make themselves masters of the galley, and arrive safe at Malta.

A GENERAL chapter appointed on the 11th of May. The pope confents that they should retain the old usage in it of fixteen commissaries, two for every language: but he inlifts, that the inquisitor shall preside over them. and have a power of delegating, in case of absence, any body whom he shall think fit in his place; that he shall likewise have a power of suspending the chapter, as well as of proroguing. The grand mafter affures the pope, that he is disposed to obey him, but that the body of the order could not bear with patience his holinels's introducing a person into the government who did not belong to the order, with the title and authority of president. The pope having no manner of regard to these remonstrances, the council thought fit to fubmit. But, in order to avoid the fire and violence of the young knights, they fend them to sea a cruising whilst the general chapter is held.

On funday the 11th of May 1631, this general chapter is opened, in which prefided the most serence ford Francis Anthony de Paule, grand master.

The most reverend Imbroll, prior of the church.

Conventual bailiffs.

Claude Durré Ventarob,
Francis Cremeaux,
Tussin de Ternez Boistrigault,
Philip de Gaetan,
Lewis de Moncada,

commander, marshal. hospitaller, admiral. conservator,

grand

Grand priors.

Juste du Fay Gerlande,
George de Castellane d'Aluis,
Antonio Maria de Ciaia,
Nicolas Cavaretta,
Nicolas de la Marra,
Philip Bardaxi,
Auvergne.
Control Toulouse.
Lombardy.
Venice.
Messina.
Emposta.

Capitulary bailiffs.

Signorin Gattenara, bailiff or prior of the bailliage of St. Euphemia. Francis Sans, bailiff of Negrepont. Cefar Feretti, bailiff or prior of St. Stephens. Alexander Benti, bailiff or prior of St. Trinity of Venufia. Antonio Bracaccio, bailiff or prior of St. John near the sea of Naples. Humphrey de l'Hospital. Majorca. Francis Puget Cheffuel, Manofque. fuste de Brun Laliege, Leon. De Rosbach, Brandenburg. John de Bernoi Villeneuve, L'Aigle. Laurence de Figueroa, St. Sepulchre-Lucius Grimaldi, Pavia. Lewis of Britto Mafearnay, Acre. James Christopher Abandlau. &cc. Alexander Orfi, &c.

Lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs.

Matthias James Phirt, lieutenant of the bailing of Germany.
Thomas Hozis, lieutenant of the great chancellor.

environi, Corbado, grast comprander of

With Marian

Proxies

Biagio Brandoa, proxy of the most serene Ferdinand cardinal Infant, administrator of the priory of Portugal.

Francis Buonaroti, proxy of the most illustrious don John Charles de Medicis, prior of Pisa.

Anthony Scalamonte, proxy of the illustrious brother Aldobrandino Aldobrandini, prior of Rome.

Tristan de Villeneuve, proxy of brother James de Mauleon la Bustide, prior of St. Gilles.

Robert de Viole Soulere, proxy of brother William de Meaux Baudran, prior of France.

Charles de Vajure, proxy of brother Peter de Beaujeu, prior of Champagne.

Julio Amali, proxy of brother Peter Vintimiglia, prior of Capua.

Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre, by appearing in person, suspended the powers of brother Ginesio Ruiz his proxy.

Policarpe de Casteloi, proxy of brother Peter-George Pridorfila, prior of Catalonia.

Lewis Melzi, proxy of brother Frederic Huntd, prior of Ireland.

Anthony Pontremoli, chaplain of the language of Provence, proxy of brother Arteman, prior of Hungary.

Eberard, baron d'Estain, proxy of brother Theodore Rolman, prior of Denmark.

Don John de Zuniga, proxy of don Bernardin de Zuniga, prior of Caltile and Leon.

Proxies of the capitular bailiffs.

John Baptiste Calderari, proxy of the eminent cardinal Cornaro, great commander of Cyprus.

Baldaffar

ROTHER

BROTHER

Baldassar de Marzilla, proxy of brother Lapert de Arbiza bailiss of Caspe.

Francis de Godoi, proxy of brother don Diego de Guzman bailiff of Lora.

Joachim de Challemaison, proxy of brother James de Chenu de Bellai, bailiff of Armenia.

Gabriel Dorin de Ligny, lientenant and proxy of brother James du Liege-Charault, treasurer-general.

Don Lewis de Cardenas, proxy of the illustrious bailiff brother Caraffa.

Gaspard de Maisonseule, proxy of the bailist brother Achilles d'Estampes Valençay.

Proxies of the languages.

	Provence,	(Francis Bagarris.
1	Auvergne,	Charles de Fay Gerlande.
1000	France,	Alexander de Grimonval.
	Italy,	Octavio Ceoli.
ö	Arragon,Ca-)	之。而於自稱於自由於它包括之一。亦
0	talonia and	Gerome Bardaxi.
	Navarre, 5 6	which is the state of the second of the
	Germany,	John James de Welthauses
	Castile and	John James de Welthauses Gabriel d'Angulo.
	Portugal,	《 图》中国《图》中国《图》中国《图》中国

The order being suppressed in England, no proxies were named for that language.

Proxies of the commanders of the priories.

f the priory of St.	Henry de Latis-Entragues
Giles, Touloufe,	Francis de Crottes de la
Auvergue,	Menardie. Peter Lewis Chantellot la
France,	Chefe. Peter de Carvel de Merai.
	K 3 Champagne,

Champagne, Rome, Lombardy, Venice, Pila, Barletto, Messina, Capua, the castellany) m of Empolta, S Catalonia, Navarre, Germany, Castile & Leon,

[Joachim de Sennevoi. Curtius Bombino. Alphonso Castel de St. Pierre. Fiorin Borlo. Ugolin Grisoni Gerolamo Zato. Philip Moleti. Alphonio Dura. Peter Marzella. Melchior Dureta Francis Torreblanca. John de Repach. Alphonfo-de Angulo.

Companions of the grand mafter.

Cthe language of Provence, Brother Girolamo de Merle Beauchamps, cavalcadour of the grand master, and brother Peter de Bernana Horno-

Auvergne,

France,

Italy, Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, >

England,

Germany,

Castile and) Portugal, 5

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(Baldaffar d'Alben, and brother Foucaud de St. Hi-

Adrian deContremoulins, and brother Francis de la Grange.

John Minutolo, and brother Mario Alliata.

N. N.

John Baptist Macedonio, and brother Stephen del Portico.

Wiliam Henry de Wasperg. Gondifalvo de Albernoz, and brother don Bernardin de Norogua.

THE

THE inquisitor then presented a brief from the pope. by which he was named to prefide at the election of the fixteen commissaries appointed to regulate the affairs of the order, but not to have any vote there, to meddle in proposing any matter, or to speak his fentiments in any debate. The grand mafter, either out of prudence or policy, fuffered the chapter to accept this brief, and then they proceeded to the choice of the commissaries. There were two for each language.

France,

Italy,

Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,

England,

Germany,

Castile and Portu-

(Villanova bailiff of Aquila, Provence, and brother Francis Crotte la Menardie.

C Gerlande, prior of Auvergne, Auvergne, and la Liegue, prior of Lions.

CBoifrigault, grand hospitaller, and brother Gabriel Dorin de Legai.

CLa Marra, prior of Messina, and Gattinara, prior of C St. Euphemia.

CSans, bailiff of Negrepont, and L'hopital, bailiff of Majorca.

Seriffori, the inquisitor, named, by the pope's orders, brother PeterLewisChantelot la Chese, of the language of Auvergne, and brother don Juan de Villaroel, of the priory of Castile.

The bailiff brother James Christopher Abandlau, and brother Evrard baron de Estain.

Brother Thomas Hozes, lieutenant of the great chancellor, and brother Biagio Brandao.

THE

THE chapter having configued over all its authority to these fixteen commissaries, they, together with the inquisitor, retired into the conclave, which was heldin the hall of the palace of the tower. The inquifitor, as has been already observed, presided in it according to the pope's intentions, but had no vote or authority to make any motion. Boisrigault, the grand hospitaller, as being the oldest of the fixteen, proposed the affairs on which they were to deliberate. Imbroll, prior of the church, in quality of the grand master's proxy, Abela the vice-chancellor, and brother Peter Turamini, fecretary to the treasury, interveened in this affembly, in which very prudent regulations were made for determining the general and particular affairs that came before them. There has been no chapter held fince this time, and therefore the judgments given, and the regulations made in this, serve at this day for a law, and are the rule for deciding of any disputes that may arise in the order.

The order loses the galley of St. John, which is wrecked by a storm on the coast of Calabria.

The crew save themselves on shore, and they afterwards get out the artillery and the

principal effects.

This year the inhabitants of the illes of Malta and Goza were numbered, who amounted to 51750, including men, women and children, and exclusive of the knights of the order, the clergy, and those who were called at Malta, the Familiares of the inquisition.

BROTHER Imbroll, prior of the church, offers the order to write an history, when leave is given him to search into the registers of the chancery. The year following cardinal Barberini recommended another to the order for the same purpose, viz. the chevalier brother Cesar Mugalotti, who was admirably well qualified for it, and a person of great learning. Both of them began their work, but left it imperfect.

The gallies of the order fail out, towards the end of April, a privateering, under the command of general Valdi, and take, near the ille of Zante, four ships or vessels

vessels, with 650 moors or negroes on boardy which they were fending from Barbary to Constantinople. The same general has another engagement with the corfairs of Tripoli, makes 338 of them flaves, and delivers 60 Christians. The Venetians make heavy complaints that the gallies of the order take prizes in the feas, and upon the demefnes of the republic. The Maltele embaffador, by the grand mafter's order, anfwers them, that the order would be willing enough to deliver back the grand feignior's subjects who had been taken in the gulph, but that as for the corfairs, they should be fold as villains and enemies to all religions and all nations. Another fquabble with the republic of Lucea, which is followed with a decree against receiving any of that state as chevaliers de justice : the pope makes up the dispute.

ADVENTURES of prince Guchia, who pretended to be fon to Mahomet III. and whom his mother, who was of the house of Comneni, and a Christian by birth, had sent to be educated among the Christians. The

order espouses this real or pretended prince.

THE schissmatical Greek Christians of the east bribe the Turks, and turn the European Franciscans out of the keeping of the holy sepulchre, Calvary, Bethlehem, and other facred places of Palestine. The pope desires the grand master and council, as better acquainted with the disposition of the Ottoman court, to take measures for restoring the Latin friars to the guardianship of the holy places. The grand master and his council are of opinion, that they should try what force could do, and not spare the schissmatical Greeks whenever they sell into the hands of any catholic princes.

THE pope's too great uneafines in granting the great cross to such as were no more than private knights, makes the order resolve te oppose the brief which he had granted to the chevalier de Souvré, though his father had been governor to king Lewis XIII.

DEATH of the grand mafter de Paule, in the 58th year of his age, after a fickness of near three months his epitaph contains his pure 10th.

June 10th.

"Fratri Antonio de Paula, magno militize hierofolymitanze magistro, principi gratissimo, splendidissimo,
qui, ob egregias animi dotes, vivens in omnibus sui
amorem, extinctus desiderium excitavit; pacem mirisice coluit & affluentiam; ordinis vires, opes addidit, auxit: ampliori munire vallo urbem aggressus cum annum ageret magisterii decimum quartum,
setatis supra octogessmum (quintum) diuturno cum
morbo constanter consictus, semper se ipso major
piissime ac religiosissime quievit in Domino, septimo
id. Junii, anno Sal. 1636."

THE 13th of June 1636, brother Paul Lascaris Castelard, bailist of Manosque, descend-PAUL LASCARIS ed from the courts of Vintimiglia,

CASTELARD. and the antient emperors of Confrantinople, was chose successor to

Anthony de Paul. The next day the council, according to the usual custom, declared the new grand master sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza, with all the

rights his predecessors had enjoyed.

invested to

MALTA suffers much from the dearness of corn. The grand master applies to the president of Sicily, who is hard-hearted enough to resule the suffering of any to be exported out of the island. Nari, general of the gallies, addresses himself to the vice-roy of Naples, who allows him to take up 6000 loads, and carry them away, free of all manner of custom, and duty of exportation.

Lascarts has a quantity of new species coined, inorder to pay the workmen who were continually employed in raising new fortifications, under the direction of Florian an engineer, colonel of a regiment of foot, whom the grand master honoured with the crossand habit of the order.

BROTHER don Peter de Vintimiglia, of the fame family with the grand mafter, makes a foundation for ever of the timber of a galley, bearing the name of St. Peter, and, for the fecurity of it, fettles two houses, of a thousand crowns a year, which he had upon the mole of Mcsina. Cavaretta, prior of Venice, makes the

PAUL LASCARIS CASTERDAND Grand Mafter. 119

the like foundation for another galley, which was to be called the St. Nicholas; and the commander Conrard Scheifurt de Merode founds the commandry of Bre-flaw in the language of Germany.

THE grand master divides all the inhabitants of Malta into companies, to whom they give arms: some knights are set over them to instruct them how to make use of them to oppose the inroads and descents of the

Turks and corfairs.

THE duke of Montalta, viceroy of Sicily, the president, and the rest of the king of Spain's officers, are still exasperated against the order, 1637. and not only prohibit the exportation of corn, but give orders for arresting all the Maltele ships that should put into the ports of the island. The occasion of their uneafiness was, that as the two crowns of France and Spain were at war, some French knights, who were on board either faips or gallies of France, had taken confiderable prizes at the entrance of the harbour of Malta. Upon these orders of the regency, two gallies of the order putting into the port of Syracufe, they were going to feize them : but the commodore being aware of their delign, put off immediately, and went out of the harbour. The governor, or the commanding officer, fired all the cannon of the caftle upon him, to oblige him to come back; but he, in fpite of his artillery, got out to sea, and returned to This behaviour of the Spaniards, who had Malta. continual proofs of the fervices which the knights did their prince for the defence of his dominions, offended all Europe; and it was faid, particularly in the courts of Italy, that the gallies of Malta had never been cannonaded before, but by the corfairs and infidels. The duke of Montalto, fearing left thefe reports hould reach his mafter's ear, or that the grand mafter should complain to him, as he had just reason to do, thought fit to disown the conduct of the governor of Syracuse, and to condemn his proceedings, and, to give a more fub-Stantial fatisfaction for what had been done, promifed so allow the exportation of corn to Malta.

THE commander de Talembach, of the language of Germany, offers the order to fit out a galley at his own expence: the proposal was very agreeable to the council, but the war spreading more and more in Germany, Talembach's proposal came to nothing.

THE commandry of Sarrafine is founded in Sicily, and the founder complimented with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order, and enjoying the pro-

fits of his commandry during his life.

Some French knights lie, with a naval force, in the channel of Malta, and take feveral prizes from the Spaniards, during the war between the two crowns. Captain Paul, a ferving brother, and a Frenchman horn, takes an Alberine vessel in the same place, carries it into Malta, and is well received there. But the grand mafter forbids him and all the knights to fight against any Christian prince, and writes about it to the king of France in very strong terms, representing to him, that some knights on board his gallies had just taken some Sicilian ships, which had interrupted the necessary commerce between the isles of Sicily and Malta, and had exasperated the king of Spain's ministers, who gave out that all this was done in concert with the council of the order.

THE commander de Charolt, general of the gallies, goes a cruifing, takes several little vessels at first, and lights upon three large ships of Tripoli, that served for a convoy to a great number of other vessels. The Maltele general, without amufing himself with cannonading them, prepares to lay them on board, and divides his gallies. The admiral galley, and the St. Peter, under the command of the chevalier John Jerome de Gallean Chateauneuf, fell upon the commodore galley of the infidels. The St. Nicholas and the Victoria, commanded by brother John Baptife Caracciolo, and brother John Brandao, attack the admiral. The St. Ubaldefque and St. Anthony, commanded by brother Bartholomew Galiley, and brother Francis Talhult, fet upon the vice-admiral. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels made a brave defence.

Four

Four hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers were on board this little fleet, which was commanded by Ibrahim Rais, called la Becasse, a renegado of Marseilles, who, for a long time, had served in quality of a pilot on board the gallies of the order, and whose wife and children

were still at Malta.

But he having been taken by the corfairs of Tripoli had turned Mahometan, had served on board the infidel fleets, and, by his valour and capacity, raifed himfelf to the post of admiral. Chateauneuf, who commanded the St. Peter, laid him aboard, and Marcel de Chateauneuf, the captain's brother, is the first who enters his ship, at the head of a good number of knights; he cuts the Turkish soldiers to pieces, seizes la Becasse, drags and carries him to Galean de Chateauneuf his brother, under whom he had formerly served as a pilot. The other commanders had as good fuccels; fo that all the little fleet was taken, and not so much as a fingle vessel escaped. They made 312 slaves, and the general of the gallies returns victorious into the harbour of Malta with twenty thips and veffels laden with a rich booty. The order loft several very brave knights in this engagement, and, among others, brother Denis of Viontessancourt, brother Bernard Perrot of Malmaifon, brother David Sanbolin, a novice, and brother Nicholas of Biencourt, a ferving brother, all of the language of France; brother Francis Isnard, brother Piolomini, and brother Philibert Gattinara, of the language of Italy; brother Alonso Garzez of Marcilli, an Arragonian novice; and brother Gaspard of Soula, a Portuguele. A much greater number of knights were wounded, they never failing to expose themselves without the least reserve on such occasions.

BALAGU, bishop of Malta, to make his clergy more numerous, gave the tonsure, and the four lesser orders, to all such young fellows in Malta as presented themselves for that purpose. These new ecclesiastics thought their tonsure was sufficient to dispense them from appearing in the companies in which they were enlisted, from mounting the guard in their turns, and

Vol. V. L from

from performing the other military functions to which the grand master had obliged the inhabitants. The king of Spain and pope Urban VIII. blame the bishop's conduct, and condemn the pretended ecclesiastics to the tonsure, and to wear the habit of their order, and to serve in the church agreeable to that function as there might be occasion for them, and ordered that all such of them as should be taken without their clerical habits, should be obliged to mount guard in the same manner as the other lay-inhabitants.

Pore Urban VIII. who had no affection for the order, but, on the contrary, resolved to subvert the government of it, grants leave, without the privity of the grand master, to the old commanders to make their wills, and dispose of their effects. A step calculated for the utter ruin of the treasury of the order, which, by this permission, is deprived of their personal estates.

SIXTEEN Algerine gallies join together to make a descent in the Marca d'Ancona, and plunder the rich

treasure of our lady of Loretto.

CAPELLO, admiral of the Venetian fleet, 'meets and pursues them; they sly into the port of la Valone, belonging to the grand seignior, where the Venetian admiral burns them without respect to their asylum. This raises the grand seignior's resentment, who threatens to fall upon them; but he is at last pacified with a a sum of money.

Some knights, who were just come to be their own masters, mask themselves in carnival time, in 1639. the habit of Jesuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand master, who orders some of the young men to be arrested, but their comrades break open the prison-doors, and set them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand master to consent to their heirs fort out of the idea.

mafter to consent to their being sent out of the island. Eleven Jesuits were put on board, four only staid behind, who had hid themselves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great crosses did not discover any

great concern at the banishment of these fathers, who, in opposition to their interest, had taken upon them-

selves to govern the grand masters.

THE foundation of two commandries; that of Nardo by Lewis Anthony de Massa, for the language of Italy; and that of Nice, by the grand master, for the language of Provence.

THE prince of Helle d'Armstat, general of the gallies, takes six vessels of the corsairs in 1640

the port of Goletta.

A YEAR fatal to the order by continuation of the wars between the Christian princes. The treasury had not received so much as a single crown from Germany for twenty years together. Most of the French and Italian commandries were ruined; the exchange ran very high amongst them; so that a crown, which was worth 13 or 14 tarins, would hardly produce eleven upon exchange, which obliged the grand master and council to take up 100,000 ducats of the bank of Genoa at interest, in order to carry on the fortifications of the island.

NEW disputes with the Venetians, who, 1641.

as usual, sequestrate the estates of the order.

ULADISLAUS IV. king of Poland, writes to the grand master, and pretends that the commandries of Bohemia ought to be common to the Polish knights as well as to those of Bohemia, since both priories were of the same language.

WAR of the Barberini against the duke of 1642.

Parma, in which they, under pretence of his

debts, wanted to seize upon the dukedom of Castro.

URBAN VIII. finding that several Italian
princes had entered into a league to prevent
his seizing on the dominions of the duke of
Parma, requires the grand master to send him the gallies of the order. His commands are immediately
obeyed; but the allies seize, in revenge, upon all the

obeyed; but the allies seize, in revenge, upon all the estates of the order within their territories, and cannot be prevailed upon to take off the sequestration till the order shews them, that notwithstanding they had been

L 2 forced

forced to comply with the orders of the pope, their first superior, nevertheless the commanders of the gallies had private orders to be only on the defensive, agreeable to their institution, which obliged them to offer no insult to any Christian prince, and which they had always observed.

A MEMORABLE action of general Boisbaudran, who exposes himself to be surrounded by eight cor-644. sair gallies, rather than abandon one belong-

ing to the order, which, by reason of the weakness of its crew, was not in a condition to keep up with

him.

The season being still favourable for keeping out at sea, the grand master sent the gallies again a cruising. On the 28th of September, the knights discovered, about 70 miles from Rhodes, a ship to the leeward, not above four miles from them. The commodore being nearest immediately gave her chace: the St. John and St. Joseph soon came up with her, and, seeing her prepare for a vigorous defence, and that she made a furious fire with her great and small shot, the knights grapple with her, board her sword in hand, and force the insidels to throw down their arms, and cry for quarter.

THREE other gallies, viz. the St. Laurence, commanded by Raphael Cotoner, the St. Mary, by the chevalier de Piancour, and the victory by the chevalier Noel de Villegagnon Chanforest, meet with a great galion, which, in order to draw on the knights, conceals her strength, and makes no parade with her ar-

tillery.

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The St. Mary, whose crew was in the best condition, was up with her before the two others; when, without considering the great disproportion there is between a single galley and a vessel of so vast a bulk, the chevalier de Piancour, who commanded her, went to lay her aboard, upon which the other gallies advance to succour him. The insidels, seeing their captain and principal officers killed, struck, after an engagement which had lasted seven hours, and in which the order lost.

loft nine knights, viz. Boisbaudran the general, Piancour, captain of the St. Mary, the chevalier Camillo Schotti, brother Sebaltian Bertonmonbai, Charles Morans of St. Mark, brother Robert and Nicholas of Boul flers, and brother Stephen of Algre, all knights probationers, and brother Severin Richard of Allemand, a ferving brother; but a much greater number of them were wounded. The Turks loft 600 men, besides a confiderable number who were taken prisoners, and among the reft a lady of the feraglio, who was going out of devotion to Mecca, with a young child, the reputed fon of the grand seignior Ibrahim, who afterwards entered into the order of St. Dominic, where he went by the name of father Ottoman. The booty was fo great, that it reimburied the treasury for all the expence the order had been at in fitting out its fqua-

IBRAHIM, hearing of the taking of this great galion, together with all the richesthat were on board, fends a herald to declare war against the grand master and the order.

GREAT preparations made by the order to put itself in a condition to oppose the formidable power of the grand feignior. Succours, ammunition, and provisions are sent for from all quarters. A glorious and ever memorable action of Lewis vicomte of Arpajon, a nobleman of the first quality in France, who obliges all his vallals to take up arms; railes a body of 2000 men at his own expence; loads several vessels with ammunition and provisions, and fets fail with them, together with a good number of gentlemen, who were either his friends or relations; arrives at Malta, and prefents the grand malter with a fuccour, which was fo very confiderable, that the like could hardly have been expected from a fovereign prince. The grand mafter thought he could not better acknowledge a fervice of this importance, than by making him general of the troops, with the power of naming three lieutenantgenerals to command under him in those places where he could not be present himself.

L3

THE

THE event shewed that the grand seignior's threatning of Malta was no more than a false alarm: but he invaded the ifle of Candia, befieged and took Canea. All his naval and land forces, his mighty fleets and confiderable armies, fell upon that ifland. Malta, now freed from any danger of an attack, fends a fquadron to fuccour the belieged. The viscount of Arpajon takes leave of the grand master, who, in order to acknowledge the fuccour he had so generously brought them, figns a bull in form, with the confent of the council, granting him and his eldest son the privilege of wearing the gold cross of the order, and declaring that any one of his younger fons, or his descendants, should be received, during their minority, into the order without paying any fees, and be honoured with the great cross as soon as ever they should have made their profession; and that the chief and eldest branch of the family might quarter the cross in their coat of arms.

THE pope, at the king of Spain's request, desires
the grand master to give the great cross to
1646. don Philip, son to the king of Tunis, who
was turned Christian. The council oppose
it vigorously, from the aversion they had of seeing a
moor, whose conversion was much to be suspected, fill

up one of the first dignities of the order.

BROTHER Jey, marshal of the order, is named general of the gallies, but refuses that post, from 1647. the consideration that his dignity of marshal gave him a right of commanding by sea as well as by land. But embarking afterwards, in order to join the Venetian sleet, he meets an Algerine corsair in the channel of Malta, near cape Passiro; an engagement ensues, in which the marshal is shot with a mustet ball, of which he dies.

MASSANELLO raises a very dangerous sedition in

Naples of a net in the section to the house of the section of

The adventures of Jacaya, a real or pretended prince of the Ottoman house; his letters to the grand master. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy endeavours to engage the order to declare in his favour, notwithstanding

the uncertainty of his pretentions. The grand mafter excuses himself, because, as he said, it would be impossible to bring his designs to bear, or to support his pretended right to the throne of Constantinople, without the concurrence of the greatest princes of

Europe.

Pore Innocent X, in prejudice of the privileges of the order, confers the commandry of Parma upon young Maldachino, nephew to Donna Olimpia, his holines's fifter-in-law. The order sends embassadors to all the princes of Christendom to complain of this injustice, and to represent to them, that the order would be disabled from fitting out any squadrons angainst the infidels, if it should be stripped in this manner of its best commandries.

DEATH of the chevalier de Guise, who was killed

in trying a cannon.

THE treaties of Munster and Osnaburg deprive the order of a good number of commandries to bestow them

on the protestant princes of Germany.

A FAMINE in the island of Malta. Cinquars, commander of the St. Francis galley, meets a Flemish ship laden with 2000 load of corn, just purchased in Puglia: the master refuses to sell it to the grand master; but a sudden storm forces him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he sells his corn to the great sa-

tisfaction of the people.

THE gallies of the order, after scouring the Levant seas, come back, and put into the port of Messina. The magistrates of the city, from the apprehensions they were under lest these gallies should, in their return to Malta, seize upon some merchant ships which were coming that way loaden with corn, lay an embargo on the St. Joseph galley, commanded by don John di Bichi of the language of Italy, by way of hostage; but suffers the other three gallies, commanded by captains of the language of France, to go out of their port. These officers deliver the grand master a letter from the magistrates of Messina, by which they tell him, that the only reason of their laying an embargo on the St.

loseph galley, was in order to employ it in quelling an in arrection of the people, who luffered exceedingly from the dearth of corn. The grand malter answers, that he is willing to believe they have no direct intention to offend the order, by an embargo which was fo highly injurious to it; but that they do a great injury to Christendom in preventing the gallies from returning to Candia to the fuccour of the Venetians. However, the grand mafter fends to the port of Augusta for corn, which the magistrates of that town were ready to furnish the order with.

THE famine increases at Malta: there is no wheaten bread to be had, not even so much as for the infirmary; so that the knights are forced to live on barley bread. They fend every where for corn; but the captains of the veffels of the order are forbid to touch at

the ports of Messina and Palermo.

THE grand feignior Ibrahim is strangled in an infurrection of the janizaries, and they place Mahomet IV. his eldest fon, on the throne

CASSEIN, the Turkish general, pursues the war in Candia with great vigour, notwithstanding the revolu-

tions which had happened in the empire.

A GREAT dispute carried on in the court of Rome. between the grand mafter and Imbroll prior of the church. This prior, who was a feditious man, pretended to have a right, by virtue of his own authority, and without the grand malter's confent, to convene an Affembly of the brother chaplains, as if those serving brothers as wells as himfelf, were not dependant on the grand mafter. The second point in dispute was this prior's pretending that he only had a right, independently from the grand malter, of vifiting the nuns of the order, and appointing them confessors. The grand affair in question was, to get the pope to confirm the two volumes of the statutes of the order, which that prior had compiled, and which he was suspected to have modelled according to his own private views, to the prejudice of the supreme and lawful anthority of the superiors of the order.

THE battle of Foggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the Venetians defeat the 1649. Turks, and take and burn a good number of

their ships.

CONTINUATION of the fiege of Candia, which is defended by Mocenigo captain general, Morofini proveditor, the governor of the place, and the commander Balbiano general of the gallies of Malta, who being a man of very great experience, was for that reason called to all the councils of war. There was a debate at this time, about an half moon at the bastion of Betlem, which the Turks had taken, and thereby put the rest of the place in danger. This affair was canvalled in the council, when the commander Balbiano offered to recover the works; and, in order to effect it. he put himself at the head of thirty knights, and an hundred of the bravest soldiers of his galley, commanded by the chevalier de Sales, nephew to the famous Sir Francis de Sales bishop of Geneva. The attack is made in the night: the knights in the dark get upon the half-moon and kill all before them. The Turks wake in a surprise, but stand their ground and fight at first with vigour: but being too few to oppose the knights, they are forced at last to fly, to leap over the parapet, and abandon the half-moon.

THE Turkish general makes them the most heavy reproaches for their cowardice; they are ashamed of having quitted their post, and, in order to recover their honour, return the next morning in greater numbers. Cassein, to facilitate their success, springs a mine, which blows up several knights, and, among others, the chevalier de Sales. This knight falls back into the mine, where he is buried to the middle; but being dug out he perfects his lodgement, and gives the Turks such a warm reception that they are not fond of

renewing the attack.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treasury was at so low an ebb, and that a grievous famine insested the isle of Malta, the grand master builds fort St. Agatha on the coast of Meleca, and supplies it with arms, provisions and a good body of knights, in order to oppose any defcent of the corfairs on that fide.

THE governors of Sicily, not fatisfied with having refused the order liberty to export corn from 1650. thence to supply the isle of Malta, refuse likewife to allow them to have any bisket made for their gallies, under pretence that it would be a pre-

judice to the subjects of his catholic majesty. grand mafter fends an embassador to don John of Auftria, who interpoles with his authority, and removes thefe obstacles.

FOUNDATION of a library at Malta, and a statute made providing that all the books which shall be found in the personal estates of any of the knights, shall not be fold like their other effects, but shall be transported to Malta

THE discontent of the king of Spain's ministers in Sicily against the order is renewed, on occasion of the continual seizures which the French made of the Sicilian and Spanish ships; most of the French vessels being commanded by knights of that nation; which hinders the gallies of the order from being supplied with provisions from Sicily.

SETERAL prizes made by the gallies of the order near cape Bon. Among others an English 1651. veffel is taken, with a cargo on board belonging to the infidels. They here make thirty two prisoners, among whom is Mahomet Ben Theis, fon to the king of Fez and Morrocco, a youth of twentyone years of age. Upon their return from this cruiting, the gallies of the order, and those of the pope, join the

Venetian fleet. THE Spanish ministers and governors in Sicily, incenfed more and more at the continual prizes 1651. made by French veffels, most of which were commanded by knights of that coun-

try, order all the estates of the order in that kingdom to be sequestrated, and issue out a prohibition against supplying Malra with any provisions, or suffering PAUL LASCARIS CASTELAND Grand Mafter. 131

any Maltele vellels, to put into the ports of the III.

and.

THE grand master and council, surprised at these rigorous orders, endeavour to pacify the king of Spain. and accordingly iffue out a general prohibition, by which all the knights are forbid going on board any thips that were to act against Christian princes: and the agents of the order at the court of France make fresh instances that the French ships may not come and attack those of Spain in the channel of Malta, and off of the coast of Sicily. They likewise sent express orders to all the governors in the ports of Malta to keep off the rovers, and not fuffer them to put into the ports of the order, as happened afterwards to the chevalier de la Carte, who, after a smart engagement off of Goza, offering to put into the road of Marza Sirocco, was fired upon by the batteries planted there, and forced to tack about; which coming to the knowledge of don John of Austria, the king of Spain's generalissimo. he took off the fequeltration and opened a free commerce between Malta and Sicily, in ad of milest becased traff

THE crew of the Maltele gallies, being very much weakened by the many voyages they were obliged to make into Candia, the pope being informed of the difficulty the order had to fit out a squadron for want of slaves, made the grand master a present of aso.

THEY build a seventh galley at Malta. 1652.

THE order makes a purchase of the isle of St. Christopher in America; for which they were obliged to the chevalier de Poincy. He commanded in that island; but the property of it was vested in a company of French merchants, under the protection of the crown of France. He had built a castle there, which he fortissed like a citadel, and had several vessels for the desence of the island against the attempts of pirates. His enemies dreading his power, conspired to ruin him, or at least turn him out of his government. Our knight, having notice of their evil designs, writes to the grand master on that subject, and tells him that his effects

effects were very confiderable, but that if he should die in the island, they would be seized on, either by the company of merchants or by his own enemies; and therefore he defired they would fend him a knight or two to supply his place in case of his death, that the order might not be defrauded of what he left behind him. The grand mafter referred the care of this affair to brother Charles Huault de Montmagni receiver of the priory of France, giving him at the same time an express commission, as procurator general of the order, to go over to the ifles of Amerrica that held of the crown of France. and a power of chusing some other knight to be his companion in the voyage, and supply his stead in case he died.

THE grand master did not stop here; but being fully fatisfied of the good intentions of the chevalier de Poincy, who acted in all this affair only for the good of the order, he wrote to the bailiff de Souvré. his embaffador at the court of France; and directed him to use his endeavours with the king to gain two points that seemed to him to be of great importance; the first was to interpose his royal authority to put a stop to the enterprises of Patrocles de Thoisly, the chief of the opposite party, and a mortal enemy to the commander de Poincy; the other article was to purchase the rights of the proprietors of the island, and to get if he could Gaudaloupe, Martinico, and other neighbouring isles, comprehended in the purchase.

This negotiation was carried on by the bailiff de Souvré with all imaginable dexterity, and the island of St. Christophers was fold to the order by a contract made at Paris, and ratified at Malta. This conveyance was made on two conditions; the first was, that the order should engage to pay all the debts which the company of merchants, who were the proprietors, owed to the inhabitants of the island; the second was, that they should pay the sellers the sum of 120,000 livres tournois. In this bargain was comprehended not only the property and lordship of St. Christophers, and the little neighbouring ifles, as St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, St. Croix, and some others; but likewise

all the dwellings, lands, negroes, merchandize ammunition and provisions, which was afterwards confirmed by the letters patent of king Lewis XIV. granted at Paris in the month of March 1653. After this purchaie, the grand malter appointed the chevalier de Sales to affift with his council the chevalier de Poincy. who was very old, and who died foon afterwards. The knight, far from having any personal estate to enrich the order, left only behind him several debts. which he had contracted to support himself in his governmentioners out to obtainful at order I had reserve to

THE gallies of the order join the Venetian fleet. and fail for Candia. Contagious distempers destroy abundance of the soldiers and crew of the Maltefe foundron: the general brings it

back in a weak condition. In the midst of the channel of Malta, he meets three veffels of Tripoli: they cannonade one another. The Maltele general, not finding himself well enough manned to attempt to board them, fends to Malta for fuccours. The convent murmured exceedingly on this occasion, and faid. that the general wanted courage more than force, and that it was the first time the gallies of the order had passed a whole day in cannonading the enemy's ships without laying them aboard; however, the grand mafter fent out feveral gallies, each manned with ten knights, a good number of foldiers and flaves. But there had rifen a gale of wind in the night that was favourable to the infidels, who had made use of it to fail off; forthat the next morning when they were preparing to attack them, they found them gone off, clear. without their being able to guess which way they steered their course. The squadron was obliged to return back into the harbour of Malta, to the great mortification of the grand mafter, who expected to fee his great nephew that commanded the fquadron return back crowned with glory and victory.

A GREAT dispute happens at the entry of the emperer's emballador at Madrid, about precedency, between Abbé Icontri the grand duke of Tuscany's embaffador,

VOL. V.

baffador, and the bailiff brother don Juan de Tordelil. las, embaffador of the order. The grand duke's embaffador pretends to precede that of Malta, who oppoles it with vigour, and prefents a memorial to his Catholic majelty, wherein he shewed, that the ministers of the order of Malta, had, time out of mind, preceded all fuch as were not deputed by kings, and who were not allowed to enter when the kings of Spain went to mass. This dispute is decided in favour of the embasfador of Malta.

THE court of France is displeased at the grand mafter's conduct in having iffued out orders by

1654. which the king's ships were denied the use of his ports. A French fleet being in the channel of Malta was attacked by a terrible from, and offered to put into a port of the island for sheker. The grand mafter, who was afraid of incenting the Spaniards, refules to let the king's ships come in, and fires upon them. The whole court exclaimed against the action. and called it high treason: and they talk of no less than seizing all the estates of the order within the kingdom, and uniting them to the demelnes. The grand malter excules himself on account of the engagements which his predeceffors, with the confent of our kings, had entered into with Charles V. and fends the deed of conveyance of the ifle of Malta to court ; at last this affair is made up by the desterity of the bailiff de Souvré, and the credit of M. de Lomenie fecretary of state, one of whose sons had been admitted into the order a little before, though he was a minor, and the grand mafter afterwards by way of acknowledgement gave him the commandry of Rochelle.

THE Venetians prevent the Turks from coming out of the Dardanelles. This occasions an engage-1655. ment, in which the infidels lofe 14 veffels. about a feven of which were burnt, two stranded, and

five taken. A system as system and you be new to

Five gallies of the order, coming into the port of Genea, and faluting only the town and the king of Spain's admiral, the Genoese order them to be attacked the Genocle admiral pretending a right to be faluted as well as the rest. The knights refused it; whereupon the magistrates signify to the commodore, that they will fire upon his gallies, and fink them if he does not comply. The general of the gallies, to fave his foundron, is forced to give them fatisfaction.

As he goes out of the harbour, he meets a Genoele vellel, and fends to speak with her. Finding it was no more than a merchant ship, he only tears to pieces the flag, which had the arms of the republic on it, till fuch time as he might meet with, and revenge the infult that had been offered him, upon some gallies or men

I A DECREE of the supreme council, declaring, that no Genoele shall be admitted into the order, till such time as fatisfaction shall have been given for the violence which had been committed upon the foundron of the order.

THE Maltele fquadron goes to join the Venetian fleet, which they meet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, confisting of 24 gallies, feven galeaffes, and 28 large ships, under the command of Laurence Marcello. The grand felgnior's armada, commanded by Sinan Baffa, advances to open the passage. A battle ensues between the two fleets; the Turks are defeated by the Christians, who gain a complete victory, and reduce the ille of Tehedos. But this advantage was bought dear by the death of the Venetian general, who was killed in the digagement by a connon flot.

THE duke of Offuna, viceroy of Sicily, dying about this time, the king of Spain appoints brother Martin de Redin, of the language of Arragon, to succeed him; he goes from Malta to Sicily to take possession of his new dignity;

THEY baptife at Malta the young Turk, supposed to be Ibrahim's fon beforementioned, and Mehemet Bintheir, who passes for the son of the king of Fez and Nowere but as a few dray the Children file to diet heosoor.

THE war of Candia may well enough be faled the war of Malia, the order never failing to put! 1657. every year a squadron to sea for the desence of that island. This year the gallies of the order joined the Venetian fleet, commanded by Lazaro Mocenigo a noble Venetian, in the channel of Jero. The chief delign of the Turks was to recover the life: of Tenedos. With this view, Mehemer the grand visier kept a great body of troops hear the Dardanelles ready to embark, in order to make a defeent upon it. The Christian fleet coming near the place, and landing! some troops to take in fresh water, the Turks attack-1 ed them, and fell with fuch fury on a German battalion, that not being able to fultain the charge, they fled, and, falling foul on the other battalions, threwall into diforder and confusion. The Turks pursued them to the lea-fide, and cut a good number of them: to pieces, among which was the chevalier de Teffancour.

THE Turkish sleet appears, consisting of 30 gallies, nine galeasses, and 18 ships, besides saicks and other small vessels. The commander of it had orders to sail out of the Dardanelles, and do all that lay in his power to recover the isle of Tenedos. The pope's gallies join the Christian steet under the command of the prior de Bichi, to whom the Venetian general gives the precedence, on account of his representing the pope.

ANOTHER scalengagement at the Dardanelles between the two sleets. The Turks are descated. The Venetian general ascribes the victory to the naval skill and valour of the Maltele squadron, and sends a brigantine on purpose to congratulate him on this occasion. But the general, desirous of burning some Turkish gallies, which had retired under the cannon of the fortresses, and advancing too far, a ball from one of the castles set fire to the St. Barbe, which was boarded by the Venetian admiral, and blew it up. The general lost his life; and of 700 men that were on board, there were but 250 saved by the Christian saicks that hastened to their succour. The confederate sleet separates,

the Maliese and the pope's gallies return towards the west, and the Venetians not being now strong enough to fight the Turkish sleet, the insidels beliege and retake Tenedos.

DEATH of the grand matter Lascaris, in the 97th year of his age. The bailiff Lascaris his great nephew erected a fine monument for 1657. him in the chapel of the language of 1'ro-Aug. 14. vence, in the church of the priory of St.

John, on which the following epitaph is engraved.

lib ffid tieds of fil D. O. M. M. S. V. S. Las

Hie jacet frater Joannes Paulus de Lascaris Castelard M. magister & Melitæ princeps, qui nascendo ab imperatoribus & comitibus Vintimiliæ accepit nobilitatem, vivendo in consiliis & legationibus secit amplissimam, & moriendo inter omnium lacrymas reddidit immortalem. Regnavit annos XXI. inter principes fortunatus, erga subditos pater patriæ, erga religionem bene-merentissimus, septima triremi quam annuis redditibus stabilivit, nova commenda quam instituit, aliis atque aliis ædisciis quæ construxit, tot terra marique victoriis omnibus celebris, soli Deo semper affixus, obiit die decima quarta Augusti, anno Domini 1657, ætatis suæ 97."

AFTER paying the last duties to the grand master, the convent was to proceed to the choice of a successor. There were two potent and formidable factions at Malta. Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre and viceroy of Sicily, was at the head of the first; and in his absence the commander don Antonio Correa Sousa his intimate friend had the management of his party. But there was another party formed called the flying squadron, consisting of old commanders and great crolles, who had been principally concerned in the government under the preceding reign; the inquisitor of Malta, Redin's enemy, was at the head of this cabal. He, in order to ruin the opposite party, presented a brief from the pope dated the 9th of December 1056,

M 3

Sicily.

in which his holiness ordered him, in case of the death of the grand master Lascaris, to declare all such knights deprived of either active or passive voice, as should be convicted of having caballed or employed money, promifes or threats for the election or exclusion of any person whatsoever; every such person the pope interdicted from a right of voting, as being a wicked

and fimeniacal person. From it and the free affine could

THE inquifitor proposed by this declaration to make Redin's election miscarry; but it had a quite contrary effect. The knights of his party imagined themselves after this obliged in honour to perfift in their first difposition. Notwithstanding all the declarations of the inquisitor, who signified by his secretary, that Martin de Redin prior of Navarre was excluded from the election, as being an ambitious person, who had employed unworthy expedients to advance himself to the

grand mastership, this nobleman had a MARTIN majority of votes, and accordingly was DE REDIN. proclaimed grand master. Odi, in a rage entered protests against it. REDIN, to clude the effects of it, fent the pope an authentic account of his election, declaring to him at the same time, that if his holiness had any exceptions to his person, he was ready to renounce it. The pope, who did not care to be subservient to the passion of his officer, and was vexed that he had employed his authority in opposing a knight that was a minister of the king of Spain. and the option of the greatest part of the knights who esteemed him, readily approved the grand master's election. He drew up a brief for that purpose, and fent it to the inquisitor with orders to carry it himself, and declare to the council, that his holiness acknowledged Redin for the lawful prince of Malta. Thus the very person who had opposed his election with the greatest fury and passion, had the mortification to be as it were the herald to proclaim it. The prior de Bichi, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies, came to Malta, where he waited upon the grand master, who conferred upon him the rich commandry of Polizzi in

Sprily. And this nobleman, who was the favourited nephew of his holiness, having joined his gallies to those of the order, the grand master, before he went out of the harbour, made him a present of a cross set with diamonds, valued at 1200 crowns.

The grand malter's first care was to provide for the security of the island, and to prevent the insides from making descents, especially in the night-time. For this end, he built towers all along the coast at proper distances for the peasants of each quarter of the country who mounted the guard to retire to, and made a fund out of his own purie for the subsistence of such as should be employed in this service, and keep watch in the night-time.

The pope recalls the inquisitor Odi, and Calanatta is put in his stead. The grand master orders, that whenever a knight who hath only the little cross, is invested with the character of an embassador, if there should happen to be any knights who are great crosses in the same court, they shall be obliged, for the honour of the order, to attend and wait upon him in all his functions.

THE richest commandries become successively the prey of the pope's nephews. Alexander VII gives the commandry of Bologna to Sigismund Chigi, and divides that of Francisto three commandries, giving the best of them to Charles Chigi.

THE commander de Mandolx is appointed a second time general of the gallies: he puts to sea with his squadron to join that of the pope: he meets 1659 near Augusta with two brigantines of Barbary, which he takes, and the insidels that were on board them serve to recruit his crew of galley-slaves which was very much weakened. The two squadrons join, and receive, in an island of the Archipelago, a letter from the Venetian general, with advice that the grand seignior's seet was retired into the harbour of Rhodes, but was immediately to set sail from thence to go to Constantinople, and that if they would come up and join the main seet, they would have an opportunity of sighting

fighting the infidels, and sharing with him in the glory of their defeat. The two foundrons failing on chace three Turkish galliots in their way. One of the three escapes by rowing vigorously; the two others run aground, and one of them is taken. The pope's general feizes upon it, and will needs carry it to Civita-Veechia. to thew his mafter that he had been in fight of the enemy. He declares to the general of the order, that he is resolved to return westward. This resolution of retiring furprised Mandolx exceedingly, who could not comprehend the reason of it, and who thereupon broke out into the most heavy complaints upon that account, and indeed in very harsh terms. But nothing could prevail upon the prior of Bichi, who was tobstinately resolved to go: the Maltele general does not think proper to feparate from him, for fear of expoling the pope's fquadron to be attacked by the infidels; to both fquadrons steer back to the west, and retire into their respective ports.

The year following was famous for the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, to 1660. the inexpressible satisfaction of the grand matter and the whole order, who now saw themselves enabled to observe that neutrality between Christian princes, which the order had always professed

ever fince its foundation.

THE grand master, after having suffered the most racking pains from a stone of four ounces weight, died on the 6th February. His epitaph mentionshis services, and contains an account of the several dignities he had filled up.

D. O. M.

"Æternæ memoriæ facrum M. magistri D. de Redin
"magni Xaverii ob genus propinqui, cujus ante æta"tem præmatura virtus Siculæ, deinde Neapolitanæ
"classium præfecturam meruit. Adultus ad summum
"Pontificem & Hispaniarum regem legatus profectus,
exercitus regios apud Catalaunos & Calicos, oæterofque Hispaniæ populos, summo cum imperio, rexit, in-

de victoriis, meritis atquerannis auctus, ex priore Name de varia atque Sicilize propege princeps Melitze electus, infulam propugnaculis ac turritis speculis, urbes ageigeribus, horreis annona ac vario belli commeatu incuttitutis munivit. Ducis Bulloni exemplum secutus,

"expeditionis Hierofolymitana principibus Europa fe "lutro vel ducem vel comitem obtulit." Oblit die fenta "In Februarii 1660; attatis 70, impenit tertio. In M do gui

the bold of the state of the convent met, as usual, to proceed to the choice of his facculor. The one and twenty electors, having duly weighted the men rit and capacity of the candidates, agreed

unanimously in the election of brother Annet Annet de Clermont de Chattes Gesson, DE CLER-bailiss of Lyons, and the electing knight, MOND proclaimed him grand master of the order

of St. John of jerusalem. Two days after, the councitacknowledged him as sovereign prince of the isless of Malta and Goza.

This title of fovereign, which reflects an honour upon the families of the knights who are advanced to the grand mastership, was nothing extraordinary in the illustrions house of Clermonta Their ancestors, before the treaty made All Do 1840; between Humbert Dauphin and Amard de Clermont, enjoyed all the rights of fevereighty in the dominions they possessed between Dauphing and Savoy: We find in hillory, that the vifcounts of Clemnont levied troops, made war, alliances and treaties, and laid what taxes they pleafed on their subjects before the treaty of 1340. These viscounts always kept from garrifons in the towns and caltles of Chavacert and Saussin; places which, at that time, were looked upon as impregnable, and lay both of them upon the river Gue, which divides Savoy from the territories that belonged to the lords of Clerin the lemmane of Advertise, ever I manistrom

AMNET de Clermont rose to the grand mastershippurely by his virtues. His courage, his piety, a diftinguishing stal for religion, his good nature and hus

minity in all his actions, and a molt angaging and oing manner of receiving people, made all the knights with for the long continuance of his reign : but providence disposed otherways of him. This great man, who feemed to be born to make his order hapby, fell fick three months after his election. Some wounds, which he had received at the fiege and taking of Mahometa in Barbary, bleeding afresh, put an end to his life in the 73d year of his age : he died in the arms of his knights, to their great affliction. His opitaph contains his character, and the principal actione and twenty electors, basing duly weight sid lorses

D. O. M. in sequenty or in M .. O . Q ade di Auro madu " Hie jacet emin. Frater Annetus de Chattese " Gelfan, qui à comiribus Clarimontis oreum accepit, a pontificibus facras claves & tiaram atrainque per majores in Califto qu'fedis apostolice acerrinos de-4 fenfores: Hoc une verè majorum omnium maximus " quod tiarz supremam coronam adjuncit, creatus nee " mine discrepante ex bajulivo Lugduni mag. magister & Melitæ princeps. Enm apicem merita jampridem exegeranty vota nanquam pratumplerant; fed virtutes tulerum foffragium, pietas in divinis, prindenti tie in humanis, fuavitas in congressa, majestas in inte a caffu; marcicalli integricas, terra marifique imperie a um's de fue nihit iple contulit, nifi quad amicis de bedivit. Regnavit ad perennem anomorium vis quatuor menabus : brevis vitte molla para periit : or primum religioni, secundam populo, terriam sibis Granem Des confecravit. Obiit inter lacrymas et de vota omnium, die fecunda Junil 1660, matie fine fepentites of Characters and Sadian stricters of Charles tiste, wate tooked union as impactiable, and law betie

Two days after they had paid the last office to the grand mafter de Chattes-Gelfan, the chevaller d'Arfevil. liere, of the language of Auvergne, grand marthal of the order, and whom the late grand mafter, a few days before his death, had nominated to the pult of bestenant general to the maffership, called a general affembly

affembly for the election of a new grand mafter. After the preliminary ceremonies used on such occasions, the languages retired into their respective chapels, to chuse the three persons who were to vote in the election of a grand master, and to pitch upon a fourth voice which was to represent the knights of the language of England.

1. THERE were in the language of Castile and Portugal, thirty-two persons that had voices, who elected the chevalier de Ximenes, the great chancellor, Hozes, bailist of Lora, Barriga, the vice-chancellor; and for the language of England, they named the commander Xelder.

2. The language of Arragon, in which Catalonia and Navarre are comprehended, had thirty-five persons that had votes, who elected Bueno, prior of the church, Galdian, prior of Armenia, Raphael Cotoner, administrator of the bailiwick of Majorca; and for England they chose Nicholas Cotoner, brother to Raphael.

had votes in the convent, and their choice fell upon the grand bailiff of Breslaw, Osterhaussen, grand prior of Denmark, and the commander Ostiski; and for England, they pitched upon the commander de la Tour.

4. There were seventy-eight persons that had votes in the language of Italy, who named Sfondrati, bailiff of St. Luphemia, Bondinelli, prior of Aquila, with the prior of Rochelle; and for England, Tancred bailiff of Venusia.

cleeted Valençai, grand prior of Champagne, Anthony de Conflans, lieutenant to the grand hospitaller, and the commander Gilbert d'Elbene; and for England they named Joschim de Callemaison.

6. THERE were eighty-nine knights that had votes in the language of Provence, who chose Monmejan a great commander, Polastron da Hilliere, prior of Toutoule, faint Mare, bailiff of Manosque; and for England the bailiff de Mandolk.

colleggo

near the person of the marshal d'Arsevilliere, on account of his post of lieutenant of the mastership. There were thirty-sive votes in this language, who named the marshal de l'Arsevilliere, Gerlande, bailist of Lyons, with the commander de l'Arsevilliere, brother to the lieutenant; and for England, the commander de la Roche.

INTRIGUE and cabal prevailed very much in this election; and the commander de Valençay, who fecretly aspired to this dignity, even during the lifetime of the last grand master, thought himself sure of nine votes. But when the election came on, there were several other old commanders who put up as candidates, particularly the marshal de Arsevilliere, Raphael Cotoner, Monmejan, St. Mark, and Hozez above mentioned, who, though they had their several parties, yet all agreed to exclude Valençay, whose party seemed the most numerous and formidable.

VALENCAY, to weaken this cabal, pretended to give up his hopes and pretentions, and accordingly told the principal leaders of the opposite party severally, that he and his nine friends would readily join in their election; which put them upon their guard against one another: but Bueno, prior of the church, found out the artifice, and affored them that Valencay defigned only to disunite them with his insidious promiles : and that therefore, in order to flew him they were not to be imposed on, and to exclude him entirely, they should all of them by concert compromise their votes, and leave it entirely to some one of their party to dispose of them, taking an oath to concur bona fide in the election of such person among their number as he should judge most deserving of the post of grand mafter. Twelve old commanders or great croffes came into the propolal, and agreed in naming the great commander Monmejan, a knight highly coficemed for his probity, to be the person to whom they would refer the disposal of their votes. He was far from imitating the grand mafter de Gozon on the like occasion

occasion and naming himself, but declared in the asfembly, that he thought they could not make a better choice than of the person of Raphael de Cotoner, bai-

liff of Majorca.

THESE twelve electors, concurring with the nine of Valencay's party, choic three others out of those that had been named for the language of England, who were the bailiff de Mondolx, Tancred bailiff of Venusia, and Nicholas Cotoner bailiff of Negrepont. These twenty-four electors chose brother John Diodati, prior of Venice, to be president of the election, the commander brother Denis Ceba, of the language of Italy, to be electing knight, the commander brother Francis Deidié for chaplain of the election, and the commander brother Michael Porruel, of the language of Arragon, for ferving brother of the election election put an end to that of the twenty-four, and thefe last having all the power lodged in themselves, chose thirteen new electors, which, with them three, made up the number of fixteen, who were to have the final nomination of the grand mafter.

1. BARRIGA, of the language of Castile and Portugal, vice-chancellor of the order, was the first person

elected.

2. The commander brother Anthony de Glandeve Castelet, of the language of Provence, choic for the language of England.

3. THE commander brother Adrian de Contremo-

lins, of the language of France.

4. THE commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, of the language of Auvergne.

5. THE commander brother Adolfe Frederick de

Reede, of the language of Germany.

6. The commander brother Henry de Villeneuve Torenque, of the language of Provence.

7. THE commander brother John de Forsat, of the

language of Auvergne.

8. THE commander brother Henry de la Salle, of the language of France.
Vol. V. N o. THE

9. THE commander brother Francis Ricafoli, of the language of Italy.

10. THE commander brother Isidore d'Argai, of the

language of Arragon.

de Soura, of the language of Castile and Portugal, for England.

12. THE commander brother Francis Wratislau, of

the language of Germany.

13. THE commander don Lewis Kelder, of the lan-

guage of Caffile and Portugal.

THE fixteen electors, after taking the usual oaths, and shutting themselves up in the conclave, directed the electing knight to go up into the gallery which looks into the church, and proclaim that

RAPHAEL they had chose brother DON RAPHA-COTONER. EL COTONER, bailiff of Majorca, 11660. to be their grand master. Immediately June 16. Te Deum was sung by way of thanksgiving; and all the knights came after-

wards to kis his hand, and take the oath of obedience, and the next day the council gave him the title of sovereign prince of the isles of Malta and Goza.

WE observed, under the year 1645, that the Turks, after having threatened the isle of Malta with a sudden invasion, fell with all their force upon that of Candia, which belonged to the state of Venice. St. Theodora was the first place they attacked. They carried it without any great resistance, and put all the garrison to the sword. They next invested Canea, both by sea and land, and took it after a bloody siege, which lasted forty days. The governor surrendered upon honourable terms; and the insidels were very punctual in keeping the articles of the capitulation.

THE year following, the Venetian, the Makefe, and the pope's gallies, landed a confiderable body of troops, under the command of the duke de la Valette. This general, intended to retake Canea, and invested k; but the Turks came with a confiderable body of troops

and

and forced him to raise the siege: They afterwards took Rhetimo, Muscava, Melo-potamo and Calamo. Their principal defign was to befiege the capital of the island; but as they were sensible the place was forti-fied both by art and nature, and that there was a garrifou in it numerous enough for an army, they only built a fort to hinder their incursions, and to block up the place. This fort they called New Candia, and fur-

nished it with a garrison of 6000 men.

THE two parties carried on the war for feveral years with various fuccess. The Venetians, finding themselves pressed by the formidable power of the Turks, applied to most of the European princes for fuccour; pope Alexander VII. and Raphael Cotoner. grand malter of Malta, lent them their gallies. Lewis XIV. king of France, fent them also 3000 men, under the command of a prince of the house of Est. But this prince being ready to embark, the commander de Gremonville, of an illustrious family in Normandy, whom the king named for the prince of Eft's lieutenant, and the chevalier Paul, a ferving brother, and one of the ablest sea-officers in Europe, were appointed to carry over the troops.

THE duke of Savoy fent two regiments of foot of 500 men each. The Genoese offered a considerable fuccour of men and money, provided the Venetians would treat them as their equals. But as those two republics had, time out of mind, fought against one another to determine that nice diffoute, the Venetians were to jealous of their foperiority, that they refuted to accept the Genoese reinforcement upon that condi-

tion.

The delign of the Christian generals was to recover the town of Canea; but not having troops enoughto beliege it in form, and to hinder the infidels from throwing fuccours into it, they refolved to take fome forts that were in the hands of the Turks, and to lay in the neighbourhood of Suda. Their first attempt was upon the post of Sancia Veneranda, which the in-

N2

attack, advanced that way, and came to an engagement with the battalion of Malta, which repulsed, and put them to flight. They next took Calogero, which the Turks abandoned; and Calami, which took them up no more time than was necessary to adjust the capitulation. Apricorno made a better defence : it was a place of difficult access, by reason of a narrow way which they must necessarily pass through, and which the Turks had, in a manner, stopped up, with a prodigious number of trees they had felled for that purpole. Some squadrons of their troops sallied out of the place to reconnoitre the forces of the Christians. Garenne, a French officer, at the head of two foundrons, charge ed them briskly, and put them to flight. But some Turks observing, that he, in his eagerness to pursue them, had advanced a considerable way before his main body, they turned short upon him, and struck off his head at once with a fabre. The campaign ended with different success on both sides. The Christians, who beat and were beaten on several occasions, retired to Cicalaria, a place covered on one fide with inaccessible mountains, and on the other by a wood; and the Turks encamp at Maleta.

THE 24th of January, of the following year, the general of the gallies of the order met a vessel 1661. of Tunis off of cape Passaro in Sicily, which he took. He made, on this occasion, 130 slaves, among whom was the cadi dey of Tunis's son, and a choaoux of the grand seignior's, who had been carrying his orders to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and other places on the coast of Barbary. Gravie, a serving brother, as he was cruising near Tripoli, took soon afterwards another ship of the insidels, with 150 Jani-

Gigibarta, a fortress of Barbary.

Towar ps'the middle of April, brother Paul, a serving brother, entered the port of Malta, with three of the king of France's gallies, and the grand master sent him a compliment by his seneschal. As soon as he landed, he went up to the palace to pay his duty to

zaries on board, deligned to reinforce the garrison of

him, as to his superior; and the grand master received him with great demonstrations of kinduess, omitting no testimony of that regard which he thought due to the merit and valour of a person, who had raised himself from a private sea-officer, to the post of seutenant

to the lord high admiral of France.

THOUGH the grand mafter was at a very great expence in fending confiderable fuccours to Candia, nevertheless, by his good management, there was no want' of funds for other purpoles; of which he did not fail to make a worthy use, sustable to his natural generofity, and the magnificence of a great prince. He employet part of them this year in enlarging the infirmary; and, at the same time, beautified the church of the priory of St. John with excellent paintings and pictures of devotion, which still remain in that church as a perpetuat monument of his piety. In the mean time, the gallies of the order, putting to fea, joined the pope's fquadron, which was commanded by the prior de Bichy, near Augusta; failing afterwards into the Archipelago, they met the Venetian fleet near the ifle of Andros, and went together in quest of that of the Turks. They scoured all the seas thereabouts; but having no manner of news of it, the allies feparated in order to return home. The Maltese gallies, keeping on their course, met, off the coast of Calabria, two Barbary galliots of fourteen benches each, which the knights took after a flight refistance. This is reckoned to be the year when the senate of Venice, in consideration of the continual services which the republic received from the order, made a decree, by which the knights of Malta were allowed to wear their arms at Venice, and all other places within their territories: a privilege that was not indulged the natural subjects of the state.

In the beginning of the year 1663, the doge used great instances with the grand master to send out the gallies of the order. Cotoner thought 1663. at first that he, out of respect to the holy see, ought to wait for the pope's squadron; but having advice that his holiness kept them at Civita-Vecchia,

N 3

through

through the apprehensions he was under of his most Christian majesty's just resentment for the insult which had been offered the embassador of France and his lady by the pope's guard of Corsi, the gallies of the order put to sea on the 15th of May, under the command of the commander de Breslaw, and sailed for the Levant. After some prizes of small consequence, which the general of the gallies sent to Malta, he joined the Venetian sleet upon the 22d of the same month, near the isle of Andro. George Morosini, a noble Venetian, was the admiral of it, who told him that the Turks had sitted out no sleet this year, and that therefore he should employ the forces of the allies in cruising at sea, and scouring the coasts of the insidels.

THE grand master Cotoner dies of a malignant and contagious sever, which ran over the whole island, and was particularly rise in the city of la Valette. He was a prince truly worthy of his dignity, prudent in his conduct, pious in his sentiments, magnificent in his way of living, and without any view but the defence of the Christians, the service and happiness of his knights, and the honour of his order. The knights of his language erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of Arragon, and put over him the following e-

pitaph.

Arragonum quicunque teris Melitense sacellum, Sacraque signa vides, siste viator iter.

Hic ille est primus Cotonera è stirpe magister, Hic ille est Raphael, conditus ante diem.

Talis erat cervix Melitensi digna corona:

Tale fuit bello consiliisque caput.

Cura, sides, pietas, genius, prudentia, robur, Tot dederant vitæ pignora cara suæ,

Ut dum cælestes citius raperetur ad arces,

Ordinis hæe fuerit mors properata dolor.

Qui ne mutatas regni sentiret habenas,

Germano rerum fræna regenda dedit.

Cætera ne quæras, primus de stirpe secundum

Promeruit: satis hoc, perge viator iter.

On the 23d of October, Bandinelli, prior of Aquila. whom the grand mafter, a few days before his death. had named lieutenant of the mastership, called a general affembly of the convent for the election of a new grand mafter: there were in it at this time 202 persons who had votes. After the preliminary ceremonies, a circumstance happened in this which never happened before in any former election, which was, that the grand master's brother was chosen his successor. For though there were not wanting in the order, and even at Malta. feveral persons that might justly pretend to this dignity, and who were admirably well qualified for it. yet the merit of the two brothers was so generally known, that as foon as ever the eldest expired, there was an unanimous concurrence of all the voices, of people as well as knights, even before the election came on, in favour of bro- NICHOLAS ther NICHOLAS COTONER, bailiff of COTONER. Majorca; so that all the electors, the twenty-one as well as the fixteen, went into the conclave for form's fake only, to keep to the letter of the

clave for form's sake only, to keep to the letter of the statutes, and immediately afterwards brother don Emmanuel Arrias, vice-chancellor of the order, who was chose the electing knight, proclaimed him grand master: and the next day he was declared in full council sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza.

The corsairs of Barbary, having carried their Piracies as far as the coast of Provence, Lewis the XIV. to repress their insolence, was advised to settle a colony on the coast of Barbary, and to build a fortress, with a port well fortisted, for the security of his ships, and situated so as to be able to give advice from time to time when any squadrons of the insidels should put to sea. The village of Gigeri was proposed to him for this purpose, which lies near the sea between the towns of Algiers and Bugia, sisteen miles from both of them. Near this village there was an old castle built on the top of a mountain and almost inaccessible. The king appointed the duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, to put this project in execution,

ceution, and defired the grand mafter to fend the gallies of the order to his affiftance. He did for and accordingly the Maltele fquadron joined the king's fleet in Port-Mahon. The Christians landed their troops without opposition, and immediately fet to work in laving the foundations of the fort which they had orders to build. The Moors, alarmed at an enterprise which tended to reduce them under subjection, ran to arms, and with their artillery demolished the works that had been begun. The duke of Beaufort detached part of his cavalry to repulle the enemy; but as this body had no infantry to fultain them, and the Moors had notice by their fpies that the French were but few in number. they broke into the village fabre in hand, and forced the French to retire to the fea-fide. The duke of Beaufort finding he was not able to stand his ground in that country, refolved to embark, but could not do it fee cretly enough to hinder the Moors from getting notice of it: fo that the rear, confifting of 400 men, were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. To make the misfortune still greater, one of the king's ships, called the Moon, which was old, and had ten troops of horse on board, was cast away seven leagues from Toulon; fo that this expedition did not prove more successful than that of the emperor Charles V. at the fiege of Algiers:

Poincy in relation to the ifle of St. Christo-1665, phers, which the order sells to a company of French merchants, who make a settlement

there under the king's protection.

This year the squadron of the order scoured all the seas of the Archipelago, but took no prizes except a few selucca's laden with corn and merchandize belonging to some Turkish traders. Two vessels commanded by the chevaliers de Crainville and de Temericours were more successful. De Crainville was on board a ship of 40 guns, called the Garden of Holland, which he had taken the year before from an Algerine corfair, though he had only a frigate of 22 guns, on board of which now was Temericours, 2 young knight of great courage,

sourage, who had already fignalized himself on several occasions. These two knights, who were intimate friends, roved in concert over all the seas of the Levant; and in the channel of the isle of Samos they met a caravan going from Alexandria to Constantinople, composed of ten ships and twelve saicks. The number and strength of the enemy served only to instante the courage of the two knights; they rushed into the middle of this little seet, sunk some vessels, took four of the richest, with two small ones, and put the rest to

flight.

THE same year was famous for an action which will immortalize the memory of the chevalier d'Hoquincourt. This gallant commander was in the port of the ifle Dauphine, when he was suddenly invested by 33 of the grand seignior's gallies that were carrying troops to the ifle of Candia. The admiral that commanded the fleet landed all his best arouebusiers, who made a continual fire upon the Maltese vessel, at the same time that the Turkish gallies cannonaded it with all their artillery. The infidels, after mauling the tackling of the vellel, advanced to board it; some attack it at the poop, as others do at the prow. The knight makes head on all fides, as if he had been invulnerable, though his vessel was hurt in several places, and he had lost abundance of foldiers, he yet cleared it of all the Turks that offered to board him, and threw them headlong into the sea. The Turkish general, in a rage at this obstinate relistance, and ashamed of the little success of his gallies in close fight, ordered them to open their ranks, and leave him a passage to come up with the vessel himself. At the same time his crew plied their oars, and vigorously pushed forward the admiral galley: but the effort he made threw the Maltele vellel clear out of the port, and, a favourable gale fpringing up, d'Hoquincourt got to the first Christian port, after finking several gallies of the Turks, and killing them above 600 foldiers.

An action of such distinguished valour and resolution deserved a better fate than this gallant knight met with a little

a little after. For he, this very campaign, being on board the same vessel; a sudden gust of wind dashed him against a rock near the isse of Searpanta. The vessel was shattered to pieces, and the knight was drowned; and the chevalier de Grilles, his particular friend, and 170 soldiers or mariners, perished in this shipwreek.

The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, as he is in chace of some cortains of Barbary, arrives in the harbour of Malta; he is faluted by all the cannon of the ports, but would not see the grand master, who refused to give him the title of highness. A little after M. de la Haye the French embassador to the ports;

passed likewise, and put in at Malta:

DEATH of Philip of Austria, the fourth of the name, king of Spain, who is succeeded by 1666. don Carlos his son. This change of sovereign occasions a new investiture, which the commander Galdian, general of the gallies, receives in the name of the order from the duke of Sermonetta viceroy of Sicily, and takes the oath of fidelity usual in such ceremonies.

THE commander d'Elbene, general of the gallies, comes with his squadron to Barcelona to convoy the empress who was going to the emperor, to whom she was married by proxy. This princess, after her landing at Final, wrote a very obliging letter to the grand master, to thank him for the good offices she had received from the general of the gallies.

THE pope makes three great croffes, the first of whom was one of his nephews, and the other two

were confiderable officers in his palace.

The grand visier Achmet comes with a confiderable body of troops into Candia, to put an end to the war and siege of the capital of the island. The Venetians apply as usual to the pope and the grand master; whose squadrons join near Augusta, and fail from thence to the coasts of Candia, and the isle of Standia. Francis Morosini, a noble Venetian, was generalistimo of all the Christian army, Autonio Barbaro, another

moble Venetian, was governor of the town, and the marquess deVille, a Piedmontese, was commander of the troops in garrison, all generals of extraordinary valour; and though emulation made them enemies, and jealous of one another's glory, they yet made a gallant defence.

DEATH of Alexander VII. who is succeeded by Cle-

ment IX.

CLEMENT, pursuant to the possession with which his predecessors had invested themselves, names the chevalier brother Vincent Rospigliosi his nephew to the bailiwick of St. Euphemia, vacant by the death of brother Philip Stondrati. This renews the uneafiness and complaints of the language of Italy, which was continually plundered and stripped of its rights by these papal nominations.

ARTICLES of agreement between the landgrave of

Helle cardinal and grand prior of Germany,

and John de Witte chancellor and pensioner 1668, of the province of Holland, with respect to some estates of the order depending on the commandry of Harlem in that province, which the magistrates had seized on. By this treaty, in which the protection of his most Christian majesty, and the negotiation of the Comte d'Estrades, were of great service, the Dutch engage to pay 150,000 florins to the order, to indemnify them for the estates which they had seized on in the provinces of Holland, and West-Frizeland; and the order, in consideration of this sum, renounced all their right to those estates, saving still to themselves their right to all the estates to which they had a title in the other provinces, with full liberty to sue for their restitution, or get at least an equivalent for them.

The marquis de Ville, general of the land forces in the isle of Candia, quits the Venetian service, out of disgust of the ill treatment he met with from general Morosini. The Venetian embassador, with the king's leave, proposes to the marquis St. André Montbrun to go over to Candia to command in the same quality. The honour of desending a place, for whose preserva-

tion all the princes of Christendom interested themselves. determines the marquis of St. André to accept the command. He fets out post and goes to Venice, where he embarks, and lands at the port of Tramate in the island of Candia on the 21st of June.

GENERAL Morofini gains a victory over the Turks

at fea.

A STRONG fuccour of French troops arrives in Candia, confifting of 7000 men, under the command of the duke de Navailles. The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France commanded the fleet.

THE count of St. Paul brother to the duke of Longueville was at the head of the volunteers, among whom were the duke of Chateau-Thierry, brother to the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Roannez, and the comte de la Feuillade.

THE order, ever zealous for the defence of the Christians, sends a battalion of 400 men into Candia, under the command of brother Hector de Fay la Tour

Mauburg.

THE count of St. Paul, at his return from Candia, touches at Malta, where he is received with great honours, after having perfomed quarantine in an house fituated at the Bormole.

THE duke of Navailles, when the time fixed by his instructions is expired, returns back into France.

THE Maltele battalion, after loung abundance of men, think of retiring from a place which in a few days confumed all the fuccours that arrived from abroad.

A FLEET of 40 ships arrives in Candia with a new reinforcement of 4500 men, molt of them Germans, among whom were 400 vaffals of the duke of Brunfwick. Belides this reinforcement, count Waldeck arrives there at the head of 300 men; and the grand mafter of the Teutonic order fends a chosen band of 150 men well provided, belides feveral noblemen of different countries who came as volunteers, and fought under the banner of the order. g Realest for securing a manage of the security and

fore

The fieur de Temericourt, eldest brother to the chevalier of that name, cruifing at sea under the flag of Malta, took a Turkish ship of 40 guns near the isle Scarpante, commanded by the corfair Buba Affan. He manned it anew, and in company with another vellel commanded by the chevalier de la Barre, failed into the feas of Alexandria, where descrying two sultanas laden with merchandize, he advanced to get between them and the harbour. As his vessel was a better failer than his confort, he fell upon the sultana which was the farthest advanced, and, after pouring in a broadfide, prepared to board her, when he received a musket-shot on the head that knocked him down upon the deck, which however did not hinder him from exhorting his officers and foldiers to continue the engag-The infidels, feeing it would be impossible for them to escape from the Christians who had grappled the two ships together, desperately set fire to the vessel in order to make their enemies perish with them. The chevalier de la Barre, who was on the point of taking the fecond fultana, feeing the danger his friend was in. quits the fultana, runs to his fuccour, and clears him of the vessel that was on fire. But Temericourt did not live to enjoy his victory, he dying the next day of his wound; and the fultana, which la Barre was just upon the point of taking, made off whilft he was employed in affifting his friend, and got into the port of Alexandria.

THE grand mafter and the council fend the commander brother Antonio Correa de Sousa, the grand mafter's gentleman of the horse, as their embaffador into Portugal, to compliment don Pedro brother to don Alphonfo king of Portugal. upon his marriage with the queen his brother's wife. and his taking upon him the regency of the kingdom. He was ordered at the same time to demand back the grand priory of Crato, vacant by the death of cardinal don Ferdinand infante of Spain. But as the ministry of Portugal had got that rich benefice into their hands, they persuaded the regent, that the nomination and patronage of it was lodged in the crown, and there-VOL. V.

fore all the answer he gave was, that the clearing up of that affair demanded some time. However at last he gave up the priory to brother don John de Sousa, who had a true right and title to it by a particular grant

from the convent.

THE reducing of the ille of Candia, and the peace which the Venetians had concluded with the Turks. make the grand mafter apprehensive that they would now turn their arms against Malta. To put the island in a condition of baffling all their efforts, he, in conjunction with the council, applies to the duke of Savoy, defiring of him an excellent engineer, Valpergo by name, who comes by his orders to Malta, and gives directions for the railing of new fortifications. The first was named the Cotonera. The next thing was to add new works to the Floriana, with a faullebrave and two bulwarks, one on the fide of port Meczet, and the other towards the great port : and in order that the entrance of the great port might be completely defended, they built a royal port, called Ricafoli, from the name of a commander who gave the order 30,000 crowns for that work.

DEATH of pope Clement IX, who is succeeded by Clement X. This pontiff writes a brief to a 671. the grand master to congratulate him upon the pains he took of fortifying an island which served for a bulwark to all the dominions of the Christical Control of the Christian C

stian princes.

THE chevalier de Vendosme, in spite of all the opposition of the old knights, prevails with the pope to grant him an expectative grace upon the grand priory of France. This brief was at last registered in the chancery of the order, but upon condition that the new grand prior should make good the mortuary and profits arising from the vacancy to the order.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, son to the duke d'Elbæuf, and Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne duke of Chateau Thierry, son to the duke of Bouillon, are received into

sports bury away and it happens after the ogsteed their

Country to be t

the order.

The grand master and council finding the number of serving brothers too great, make a regulation, for-bidding the reception of any more for the future, till such time as new orders should be issued out for that purpose.

purpole.

Rome labours under a great dearth of corn: the pope fends over all Italy to get a supply; and cardinal Altieri his nephew writes to the 1672-grand master in his holiness's name, and defires him to send the squadron of the order to convoy his ships. Orders were accordingly dispatched without loss of time for that purpose to the bailist de Harcourt, of the house of Lorrain, general of the gallies,

and to the chevalier de Fovelle Ecralaville, who com-

manded the admiral galley.

TAE chevalier de Temericourt, a famous curfair, is attacked by five great vessels of Tripoli: he defends himself with to much courage and intrepidity, that after shooting the masts of two of them by the board, and killing abundance of their men, the infidels, despairing to take him, tacked about, and left him at liberty to keep on his way: but he was foon after caught in a dreadful fform, which dreve him upon the coalt of Barbary, where his vessel was call away, and he himself was taken by the Moors, who carried him to Tripoli, and from thence to Adrianople. Mahomet IV. who was there at that time, asked him if he was the person that with a single vessel had fought five of the largest of those of Tripoli. "Twas myself, re-plied the knight. What countryman are you, laid the sultan! A Frenchman, replied Temericourt. You are a deferter then, faid Mahomet, " for I am in strict peace with the king of France. I am a Frenchman, fays Temericourt to him; but, " besides that quality, I am likewise a knight of Malta; " a profession which obliges me to expele my life against all the enemies of the Christian faith." grand seignior, desiring to get him into his service, sent him at first to a prison, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him all those advantageous offers 0 2

that might possibly tempt a young warrior who was but 22 years old; and, to encourage him to change his religion, he promised to marry him to a princess of his blood, and to make him a basha, or his great admiral. But these pompous offers had no effect upon the young knight; he refifted them with as much courage and resolution as he had done their arms. The grand seignior, incensed at his steadiness, resolved to try if harsh usage could not shake his constancy, and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon for a fortnight. They there gave him the bastinado, put him to the torture, and mangled his limbs, during which this noble confessor of CHRIST JESUS did nothing but call upon his holy name, and implore his grace that he might die for the confession of it. In fine, the grand feignior ordered his head to be cut off; his body was at first left at the place of execution; but Mahomet, to prevent any veneration being paid to it by the Christians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which runs by Adrianople.

A DISPUTE between the French commodores and the officers of the order about the falute when 1673. they met at sea: Lewis XIV. pronounces against himself. This negotiation, which was of a very delicate nature, succeeds by the address of the commander de Hauteseuille embassador from the order

to his most Christian majesty.

THE mainotes, of the Greek religion, and inhabitants of the mountains of the Morea, implore the grand master's assistance to enable them to throw off the Turkish yoke. The squadron of the order comes upon their coast; but finding them not united among themselves, some of them being for recovering their liberty, and others for continuing still faithful to the Turks, the gallies of the order gave over the enterprize.

In the year 1618, the duke of Ostrog a Polish nobleman, had, with the consent of the republic, made the order of Malta heir to all his estate. This great family being now extinct by the death of duke Alexander d'Ostrog.

d'Oftrag, the chevalier prince de Lubomirski gave immediate advice thereof to the grand mafter. But duke Demetrius the petty-general of the crown, laying claim to the inheritance, under pretence that he had married the fifter of duke Alexander, the grand mafter fent prince Lubomirski a letter of attorney to maintain the rights of the order.

THE admiral brother Paul Raphael Spinola 1674. rakes three merchant thips richly laden, in the

gulph of Magras and on however and acidd his more and

THE vicercy of Sicily applies to the order for fuci cours. The grand mafter immediately lends him the foundrow of the gallies. Several great croffes go on board them, as a teltimony of their zeal for the king of Spain's fervice, whose subjects they were born. In the mean time, the chevalier de Valbelle throws a finply of French troops into Melfina

THE grand mafter Nicolas Cotoner makes an endowment to maintain the fortress of Ricafoli in the island of the Patron of Maka e the great afterlion he hughlam

rudani

THE king of England declares way 2-1 1675. gainst the rovers of Tripoli, and his ships are

well received in the ports of Maltatune amon a asken

FREDERICK de Mogelin the king of Poland's envoy arrives at Malta, and prefents the grand mafter with a letter from that prince, in which he tells him, that, as his territories were continually infelted by the Turkish forces, he should be exceedingly obliged to him if he would make a diversion by some considerable enterprise. The grand matter answers him, that by complying with the follicitations of his Polish majesty, he would do no more than discharge the obligations of his own profession; that the order had always employed their forces against the infidels, but that they would now encrease their armaments, in order to answer the wants and infrances of his majefty, olur notice the brand

THE vicercy of Sicily endeavours to engage the order, as being a feudatory of that crown, to make war against the people of Messina. The grand master anfivers him; that they are forbid by the very inflitution of the order ever to concern themselves in any war between Christians, and that there was nothing of that nature to be found in the deed of infeofment of Malta.

THE post-house is settled at Malta in the fort of Marza-muzet, which the grand mafter Manoel has in our time secured with very necessary fortifications.

CHARLES II. king of England writes in a very obliging manner to the grand mafter, to thank him for the great civilities he shewed to his admiral and his ships, which he received into the harbour of Malta.

THE Genoele embark fome troops from the Milanele. and transport them into the port of Melazzo. 1676. where the gallies of the order were at that time under the command of the bailiff de Spinola, who, out of complaisance for the viceroy of Sicily, and forgetting the infult the fquadron of the order had received in the port of Genoa, consents that the Patron of that commonwealth should have the post of the Patron of Malta: the great affection he had for his country was undoubtedly the motive of his acting in that manner, and perhaps too it might be to make a compliment to Augustine Durazzo, commodore

of the Genoese, who had married Spinola's niece. A DREADFUL plague at Malta, which destroys a great number of knights, and abundance of people.

MALTA being almost depopulated, is no longer able to fupply the same number of knights for the 1677. gallies; fo that in the naval expeditions, where, before the plague broke out, they used to have one and twenty knights on board every galley, the number was this year reduced to eleven for the admiral, and nine for the other gallies. The tres had to be about the

THE dignity of marshal being now vacant, the commader brother Lewis de Fay Garlande, and brother René de Maisonseule, both of the language of Autergne, of the fame standing in the order, and who had passed through the same employments, aspired to it in oppofition to each other. After a long dispute, the grand mafter, and some common friends of the two claimants, finding no way to decide the competitorship, persuaded them to agree, that they shall enjoy this dignity alternately, and each have his month.

MAISONSEULE dies two years after this compromise. Gerlande being lest alone in the post, puts to sea with five gailles, and meets two 1678. Algerine corsairs off of cape Passaro: but in-

straine contains on of cape I aliano. But instread of laying them aboard, as was the constant practice of the knights, he only cannonaded the two corsairs: this made Maisonseule be regreted, and occasioned great complaints at Malta against Gerlande, who excused himself by saying that the wind was against him.

CAPTAIN Peter Fleeches, a native of Majorca, meets an Algerine corfair in the tame place, and finks him, but faves an hundred Turkish soldiers, whom he afterwards sold to the order for an hundred pieces of eight per slave.

THE pope is desirous of putting an end to the disputes between the order and the republic of Genoa. He speaks to the Maltese embassador upon that subject, who, by order of his superiors, told the pope, that the order was all obedience, and that, notwithstanding the insult which had been offered by the Genoese, it was yet ready to pay a blind and implicit submission to whatever determination his holiness should think fit to make in the case. The pope, not caring to take upon him the decision of that affair, it was spun out some time longer.

DON John of Austria, grand prior of Castile, being dead, the grand master and council design to retrench 8000 ducats from the revenue of that rich benefice, in favour of several persons: but the king of Spain, who laid claim to the right of patronage of that grand priory opposes the curtailing of its revenue.

PEACE concluded between France and Spain by the marriage of Charles II. with the princess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter to the duke of Orleans, 1679. his most Christian majesty's brother. Brother don Juan de Villa Viciosa goes to compliment his catholic

tholic majefty in the grand mafter's name, and obtain' his leave to export a quantity of corn, which arrives at Malta at a time when a famine was beginning to ravage the whole ifland.

THE grand master, who some years before had been seized with a kind of palfy, is now at-1680. tacked with very severe his of the gout and Rone. A flow fever steals away from him his-Arength by infensible degrees, without any way leffening his courage or his vigilance, but a dylentery forces him at last to keep his bed. He appoints brother don Arland Scralte, prior of Catalonia, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and dies with great sentiments of piety on the 29th of April, in the 72d year of his age. This prince, who by his artful management had procured his brother the dignity of grand master, owed his own advancement to his merit only. He kept up his dignity by a superiority of genius, that made him respected by all who approached him : he had an excellent talent at negotiations; was bold in his enterprises, and prudent in the choice of proper means to execute them: he had all his fellow knights for his friends, communicated his defigns but to very few among them, and never had a confident. He was buried in the chapel of the language of Arragon, and the following epitaph was put on his tomb.

in respect Di O. M. and to a single but mid " Fratri D. Nicolas Cottoner, magno Hierofolymi-" tani ordinis magiftro, animi magnitudine, confilio, " munificentia, majestare principi, erecto ad Mahometis " dedecusex navigii roftris, ac fultanæ præda trophæo; " Melità magnificis extructionibus, Templorum nitore " explicato, munitoque urbis pomærio, fplendidé aucta; " cive è pestilentiæ faucibus pene rapto; Hierofoly-" mitano ordine, cui primus post fratrem præfuit, 46 legibus, auctoritate, spoliis amplificato; republica difficillimis seculi belli temporibus servata: verè " magno quod tanti nominis menfuram geltis impleverit, " pyramidem hanc excelli tellem animi, D. D. C. fama A \$ 1.35 7 superstes.

" fuperstes. Vixit in magisterio annos XVI. menses " VI. obiit 29 Aprilis 1680, ztatis 73. Post ejus " obitum, executores teltamentarii tumultum hunc fieri " mandavere."

THREE days after Cotoner's funeral, they met to chuse him a successor. Parties had been forming during his illness, and were still carried on. The treasurer de Vignacour was fure of ten votes, and did all he could to engage the Spanish language on his fide, but in vain.

THE electors name the prior of Rochelle, D. Gregory Caraffa, a Neapoli- GREGORY tan. This choice was agreeable to CARAFFA. all, but especially to the Italians, who, for 128 years before, had not had a grand mafter elected from among their countrymen.

THE new grand master applies himself diligently to regulate the affairs of the order, and finish the fortifications that had been begun by his predecessor.

GENERAL Correa returns to Malta with fix Algerine ships, which he had taken, after having run a great risque of being taken himfelf.

THE bailiff Colbert succeeds Correa in the post of general of the gallies of the order.

THE bailiff d'Arrias, who for 24 years had enjoyed the post of vice-chancellor, and distinguished himself in the discharge of it, made a volun- 1682. tary relignation of his office to the grand master, who, upon the chancellor's presentation, appointed the commander Carriero a Portuguefe, secretary of the treasury, to succeed him. Carriero's post is given to the commander Bovio, who was afterward grand prior of England.

BROTHER Jerom Molina, bishop of Malta, is translated to the bishoprick of Lerida. The king of Spain, upon the grand master's presentation, names brother David Coceo Palmieri, a man of admirable probity, to the fee of Malta,

THE king of France writes to the grand master, to notify to him the birth of the duke of Burgundy. Great rejoicings at Malta: the French knights of the three languages distinguish themselves by the noble feasts they make on this occasion.

The dukes of Ganfron and Berwick come to Malta; This last receives the cross from the hands of the grand master, with the title of grand prior of Eng-

land.

THE Turks beliege the city of Vienna with a formidable army. John Sobieski king of Pol-1683. and, the duke of Lorrain generalissimo of the emperor's forces, and the duke of Bavaria join to relieve it: The infidels are beaten in several engagements, and are at last repulsed with so much loss, that they are scarce able to repass the Danube,

This fuccess induces pope Innocent XI. to conclude a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the state of Venice, against the insidels. The grand master is desirous to share in such a laudable engagement, writes about it to the pope, and prepares all is forces to join the confederates. The squadron of the order puts to sea, under the command of the bailist of St. Stephens, alarms all the coast of Barbary, and drives the enemy out of the two islands of Prevesa and Santa Maura.

A NEW armament of the order commanded by brother Hector de la Tour Maubourg. The 1685, Venetian fleet, and the pope's gailies join the

Maltese squadron at Messina. Morosini, generalissimo of the republic, attacks Coron, and takes it aftera stout resistance from the besieged. The knights distinguish themselves in the siege, by incredible efforts of valour, particularly by driving the insidels out of a fort which they had recovered from the Venetians. General la Tour is killed in this attack.

1686. St. Angelo fortified by the grand mafter's care.

THE knights put to sea again in the spring, under the command of Erbestin, grand prior of Hungary, meet the Levant. The Venetian fleet joins them at the isle of Santa Maura. They beliege old Navarino, take it, and go from thence to attack new Navarino, a place of great importance, by its situation, and the convenience of its harbour, but defended by a strong garrison. Morosini, after some days siege, takes it, and advances with his fleet to Modon, a town of greater strength, but forced in like manner to surrender: several knights lost their lives at these sieges.

The confederates, encouraged by their good fuccess, advance towards Napoli di Romania, the capital of the kingdom of the Moea. They land there on the 30th of July, and lay siege to the place; they rout the serasquier three times, as he attempted to relieve it, and take it after a month's siege, and a gallant defence made by the besieged. General Erbestein sets sail for Malta. Nineteen knights were killed at this siege,

with a confiderable number of their foldiers.

THE commander don Fortunato Caraffa, the grand master's brother, prince John Francis de Medicis, prior of Pifa, brother to the grand duke, and brother Leopold Kollonistch, bishop of Neustat, are made car-

New preparations are made at Rome for the Levant. The grand master sits out eight gallies, under the command of brother Claude de Mechetein. A descent in Dalmatia. The three sleets join before Castelnuovo, which surrenders, and thereby leaves the Venetians entire masters of all the Adriatic gulph. Pope Innocent XI. writes to the grand master to compliment him upon the valour which his knights had shewed in this expedition.

THE duke of Uzeda is made viceroy of Sicily in the stead of count de St. Stephen, who, escorted by a convoy of Maltese gallies, goes to take possession of the

viceroyalty of Naples.

BROTHER den Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca is made bailiff of Acre. Brother don Felix Inigo de Aierva quits the post of grand conservator for the bailiwick of Caspa. Brother

Ximenes

Ximenes de la Fontaza, bailiff of Negrepont, is made grand conservator, and is succeeded in his bailiwick by the great chancellor Correa. Brother don Philip Escoveda is made great chancellor. Brother Fabio Gori gets the bailiwick of Venusia. Brother Feretti, receiver of Venice, is made bailiff of St. Euphemia. The admiral Cavaretta takes the bailiwick of St. Stephens. Averardo de Medicis succeeds him in the admiralty, and Spinelli, bailiff of Armenia, is named general of the gallies.

THE squadron puts to sea again in the spring, being headed by the commander Mechatein. The generalissimo Morosini is made doge this year, and fends out the Venetian fleet. The two

armies joining, attack the fort of Negrepont. The fiege proves long and difficult, and they are obliged to raife it at last, after having lost abundance of men, and 20 of the bravest knights.

THE grand master is sensibly afflicted at this loss. His grief, with a retention of urine, which 1600, came upon him at the same time, throws him into a fever: he gives away his effects, appoints his seneschal, brother don Charles Caraffa, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and thinks of nothing but another world. He dies on the 21st of July, in the 76th year of his age, after having enjoyed the grand mastership nine years and ten months. Never was the humility of a religious united in greater perfection to the virtues of a foldier. He distinguished himself in a particular manner by his love for the poor. His body was carried to the chapel of the language of Italy, where he had caused a monument to be erected for himself. The epitaph which he himself composed two

D. O. M.

years before his death, is still to be read upon it.

" Fr. D. Gregorius Caraffa Aragonius è principibus " Roccella, magnus Hierosolymitani ordinis magister, " cui vivere, vitâ peractâ, în votis erat. Quia mortem

or primam qui prævenit, secundam evitat; hoc sibi 44 adbuc

" adhue vivens non mausoleum, sed turnulum posuit re-" surrecturo satis. An. Dom. 1688."

THE following inscription was engraved on the marble under his statue.

"Emeritos venerare cineres, viator. Hic jacet Fr.
D. Gregorius Caraffa ab Aragonia, M. M. elarus genere, genio præclarior. Heroas, quos in nomine
gestit, in virtute expressit. Essus comitate, dissus
triumphis, populos habuit amatores, orbem secit
admiratorem. Bis ad Hellespontum, toties ad Epirum, Peloponnesum, Illyrium, impertito ductu, prævalida ope classes delevit, regias expugnavit. Munisicentia, pietate princeps laudatissimus. Urbem,
Arces, Portus, Xenodochia, Templa ampliavit, restituit, ornavit. Publico semper Religionis bono
curas impendit & studia. Ærarium ditissimo spolio
cumulavit. Obiit die 21 Julii, anno æt. 76. mag.

NEW cabals for the election. They agree at last in favour of brother Adrian de Vignacourt, great treasurer of the order, nephew to ADRIAN Alef de Vignacourt, who was elected to DEVIGNA-the same dignity in 1601. He takes pos-commander to illands, and sends the commander Riggio to Palerme to notify his election to the duke of Uzeda, viceroy of Sicily.

THE squadron returns from the Levant, whither it had been sent to join the Venetian sleet, and brings the sirst account to Malta of the taking of Valonne, which occasions great rejoicings.

THE grand master, from his great liberality, relieves the pressing necessities of the widows and children of all such of his subjects as had been killed in the last wars. Several knights follow his example.

THE order maintains a galliot well manned to give chace to the corfairs of Barbary, who were continually roving up and Vol. V. P down down the Sicilian sea, even to the very channel of the two islands.

CARDINAL Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, is chose pope on the 8th of August, and takes the name of Innocent the XII.

The grand master erects several magazines, and adds considerable fortifications to all such places as were not in a good condition of desence. In the midst of these employments, which were only intended for the security of his order, he receives letters from the emperor Leopold 1. acquainting him that the Imperial army, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, had just gained so complete a victory over the Turks, that

30,000 of them had been killed on the spot.

A LARGE and fine arienal erected at Malta for building of gallies. The ministers of the court of Rome are for comprehending the estates of the order in an extraordinary tax, which the pope was raising upon all ecclesiastical possessions. The new pope, of his own accord, exempts them from it, without staying for any remonstrances from the order; and, by a brief of the 7th of December, renews the permission which his predecessors had formerly granted of carrying the holy sacrament on board the gallies.

THE grand-prior of Messina, general of the gallies, puts to sea, and advances towards the coast

ty to fignalize his courage. He fails for the Levant, joins the pope's gallies at Messina, and the Venetian army at Napoli di Romania: all the fleet goes to attack Canea, a place of importance on account of its port, and one of the most agreeable cities of the isle of Candia. After a siege of twenty-four days, they are forced to retire, the season being too far advanced. The squadron of the order returns back to Malta, at the time they were making public rejoicings there for the taking of the fortress of great Waradin by the imperial army.

THE marquess d'Orville, nephew to Vignacourt, arrives at Malta, where he is received with all the ho-

nours usually paid to the nephews of the reigning grand mafter.

THE ifle of Malta is greatly terrified on occasion of

a dreadful earthquake which began on the 11th of January, at ten o'clock in the even-

1693.

ing, and lasted three days, overturning several buildings in that space of time. The same earth-quake destroys entirely the town of Agosta in Sicily. Four gallies arrive from that island, and bring the grand master an account of this misfortune. mediately dispatched away the general of the squadron with five gallies to go to the affiltance of the inhabitants; orders public prayers all over the island, and a falt of three days to appeale the wrath of heaven, and forbids the usual diversions of the carnival this year. He after this fets about repairing the damage which the earthquake had done in Malta.

SEVERAL vellels were in want of malts, rigging, and other things necessary for their putting to sea. The grand malter fends for every thing that was wanting to the fleet, and has it brought from Amsterdam. He likeways gives orders for repairing the magazines and the ovens which the order had at Agolta. The commander Ferrao, who was entrufted with this commission, rebuilds these structures with much greater magnificence than before, and puts the arms of Vig-

nacourt over them.

proach.

THE grand prior, after coasting all the isles of the Archipelago with his fquadron, returns to the bay of Terra-nova, gives chace to a ship of Tunis, and boards. it notwithstanding its being defended by 130 foldiers, takes it after some refultance, and brings it to Malta. There he finds the grand mafter very much displeased with him. He was accused of having avoided an engagement with three corfairs and a tartan, which he met going to the Levant. The general clears himfelf by proving that he had purfued the enemy briskly till night came on, and resolved to attack them the next day, but that the corfains got off in the dark, and he could never get fight of them afterwards. After a full examiexamination into the affair, and the taking of depoliti-

ons in form, the general is declared innocent.

A NEW armament under the command of brother Francis Sigisfinund, count of Thun, who was 1694. named general in the place of the grand prior of Messina.

TAKING of the town of Scio after a week's fiege.

THE king of France and the duke of Savoy are for raising subsidies upon the estates of the order lying within their territories, under pretence of the excelfive expence of the war. The grand mafter represents to them the privileges of the order, and both the princes defift from their defign.

THE pope takes upon him the arbitration of the difference between the order and the republic of Genoa, and reconciles those two powers. Several Geno-

ele are admitted into the order.

GENERAL Sigismund puts to sea again, and chases a fhip of Tripoli. He takes it after an engagement of two hours, and fends it to Malta, himself still keeping on his course towards the Le-His voyage was entirely uscless, because the Venetians, whom he joined, would not engage in any enterprise, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

THE grand master's sickness, which occasions great canvallings for the future election, but they are stopped by his recovery. The pope makes 1696. the order a present of a great number of gal-

ley-flaves whom he fends to Malta.

THE grand master is seized with a violent fever, and prepares for death. He names the bail if of Leza don Gasper Carnero, of the priory of

Portugal, to be lieutenant of the mastership, parts with all his effects, and dies on the 4th of February, after having been grand mafter near feven years. and lived 79. His piety and innocence of life and conversation, had ever made up a character of this prince. His integrity and his beneficent temper procured him a general efteem; and he was never liable to any reproach.

proach, but that of having suffered himself to be governed by some favourites who were much more intent upon their own interests, that they were on those of the order, or the honour of the person who gave them all his considence. They buried him in the chapel of the language of France, where this epitaph is to be seen.

D. O. M.

Eminentissimi principis
Fr. Adriani de Vignacourt mortales exuviæ
Sub hoc marmore quiescunt:
Si generis splendorem quæras

Habes in solo nomine,
Habes in affinitatibus penè regiis.
Si religiose vitæ merita spectes,

Charitatem erga pauperes & infirmos indefessam, Erga peste laborantes generosam Mirari poteris.

Et ita intemeratam morum innocentiam,
Ut mori potius, quam fædari voluerit.
Magni Aloffii ex patre nepos,
Integritatis, fortitudinis, & justitiæ laude

Simillimus;
Tanti principis famam est affecutus.
Vixit sanctissime, sanctissime obiit,
anno salutis 1697.

The affembly for the election of a new grand mafler is held on the 7th of February; the electors are
divided into several factions, but unite
at last in favour of brother Raimond RAIMOND
Perellos de Roccasul, of the language Perellos,
of Arragon, bailiff of Negrepont, and
fixty years of age. Two days after he takes possession
on of the sovereignty of the two islands; and the 15th
he assembles the council in order to reform the abuses
that had crept into the order. The popes had frequently yielded to the importunity of some ambitious
P 3 knights,

knights, and granted them briefs to be received great croffes of grace: which made the old knights, when they faw themselves supplanted by these young men of the recompence due to their services, retire frequently into their own countries; when, thinking they had full reasons to be disgusted with the order, they became more indifferent to its interests, and left their estates to their families; an affair, the care of which was of the utmost importance to the order. Accordingly they refolved to write to his holiness on that subject, and to defire him not to grant for the future any fuch briefs, which struck at the very foundation of their discipline. They likeways made a regulation, by which all such as were professed in the order were forbid to wear any gold or filver on their cloaths, and absolutely prohi-bited all games of chance. The duke of Veraguas, viceroy of Sicily, who had long folicited to obtain a brief in favour of the commander Riggio, receiver of Palermo, for the making of him a grand cross, continues his inftances warmly, and fucceeds in obtaining it, because they found the brief had been dispatched by Vignacourt.

Prace concluded at Reswick between France and Spain. Public rejoicings at Malta upon that 1698. occasion. Boris Petrowits Scremetes, a near relation of the Czar's, comes to visit the grand master, with letters of recommendation from the pope and the emperor. He is received with all the honour

due to his quality and merit.

Pope Innocent XII. puts an end to the disputes that had continued a long time between the bishop soon. of Malta and the prior of the church, with respect to their jurisdiction. Both parties submit with joy to the decision of the holy father; and the grand master, by way of acknowledgement, causes his holines's statue in brass to be erected over the great door of the church of Victory, with this inscription:

"INNOCENTIO XII. optimo & fanctissimo Pontisici, dissidiis compositis inter ecclesiasticum & magi"strale"

of strale forum exortis, utrique juribus pie servatis, of pluribus commendis liberaliter restitutis; Em. &

Rev. Dom. Fr. D. Raimondus de Perellos Roccaful, grato & unanimi omnium voto, tot tantaque beneficia

" æternitati dicavit MDCIC."

The gallies of the order attack two vessels of Tunis. The wind shifting on a sudden parts them, and gives the corsairs an opportunity to make their escape. The grand master and council, having been misinformed of this accident, and fearing the officers had been wanting in their duty, appoint commissioners to examine into the affair, which they perform with the utmost care, and

clear the officers of all manner of blame.

THE bailiff Spinola general of the fquadron, embarking on the 15th of February, fpies a man of war belonging to the enemy off of Sicily, and comes up with her by hard rowing. The admiral-galley which followed him close, having lost its main-fail by a gust of wind. Spinola resolved to board her. The engagement was bloody on both fides. The commander Spinola, the general's brother, receives a mortal wound by the grand prior of Messina's side, who fought leaning upon his valet de chambre, being so very old that he could not stand unsupported. The valet de chambre is killed, and the prior holds with one hand upon the frame of wood that fustains the compais, and continues fighting. Victory was going to declare for the knights when the enemy s ship bears with all its force upon the admiral-galley, and splits it. A south wind rises and blows a terrible storm, which disperses the squadron, The commander Javon, captain of the St. Paul goes to the fuccour of those who were cast away in the admiral, and laves fifty of them, among whom were general Spinola, the commander Brofia, and the chevalier de St. Germain, and relolves to stay in the same place to get off the rest, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pilot, who assures them they were in great danger: " I shall be happy enough, says the captain, if I lose " my life in faving but a fingle man of them." The wind however drove him away in spite of all his endeavours.

desvours. Two and twenty knights, and above 500 men, both officers as well as foldiers, perifhed either in the engagement or the wreck. The other gallies are driven by the tempest towards the Levant; they join again at Angusta and return to Malta. The grand master provides for the subsistence of the families of such of his subjects as had perished in this engagement.

PERELLOS had long seen with pain, that ever since the order had laid aside their men of war, and had only kept up a squadron of gallies, the Barbary corfairs were continually taking the Christian merchant ships, making descents upon the coasts of Italy and Spain, plundering the villages, and carrying off from time to

time a great number of families into flavery.

THE Christians had cast their eyes for upwards of fourscore years past upon the knights of Malta their old protectors for redrefs, but in vain : there had hitherto been always too many difficulties started before a foundron of men of war could be provided at Malta: but Perellos being in the mastership, and assisted with the advice of the bailiff Zondodari who succeeded him, fancied that all these obstacles might be formounted, and brought the council into his measures more easily than he could have imagined. So that as foon as he had raised the funds necessary for building of men of war, he fearched through the whole order for a knight who had the most skill to inspect their buildings, and was the best qualified to command them. The choice fell upon the chevalier de St. Pierre of Normandy, a captain in the king of France's fleet, who afterwards obtained the commandry of Pieton in the grand mafter's gift for his services. 'Tie to this commander we are indebted for the project to extirpate the corfairs of Barbary, which has been printed abroad among the works of the Abbé de St. Pierre his brother, and had been highly approved of by the grand mafter.

THE St. Paul galley is driven, by a gust of wind, upen the rocks of the little isle of Ostrica near Palermo; and notwithstanding all that general Javon could do, he was lost with three knights and 70 men of his crew,

the rest were saved by the other gallies.

THE squadron returns towards the coast of Barbary, and meets the sultana Binghen, a large ship of 80 guns, with three hundred sighting men 1701. on board. The engagement was long, and the loss considerable on both sides; but at last the knights had the advantage, and carried the ship with them to Malta. The grand master ordered the standard of it to be put in the church of St. John at Aix, the birth place of the chevalier Ricard, as a monument of the valour of that knight who had chiefly contributed to the victory.

DEATH of Charles II. king of Spain. Philip V. fucceeds him, and confirms all the privileges of the or-

der.

CARDINAL Albani is chose pope in the room of Innocent XII. and takes the name of Clement XI.

THE squadron of the order, advances as far as Goletta, and attacks the infidels in the very port; they carry a large ship and a brigantine of the enemy back with them to Malta, having only lost one knight and

four foldiers in this expedition.

The grand prior of England goes to Rome in quality of embassador extraordinary, in order to prevail with the pope to make a regulation 1703. with regard to the inquisitor of Malta's pretensions concerning his jurisdiction. This affair met with several delays, but was at last terminated to the

grand master's satisfaction.

The squadron of ships commanded by the chevalier de St. Pierre sails towards the Levant, meets three ships of Tunis, and gives them chace.

The St. James man of war loses its mast before the engagement, and goes off. The St. John attacks the enemy's admiral, which carried 50 guns, and had 370 sailors on board, and takes it whilst the rest of the enemy's sleet crowd all the sail they can to get off. This ship was added to the squadron of the order, and called the St. Croix, or Holy Cross.

THE

The commander de Langon, carries a convoy of ammunition to Oran, and with a fingle ship 1.707. of 50 guns passes through the midst of the Algerine sleet, which fired upon him continually, and throws a supply into the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the insidels, who fought in the presence of their king. This action occasioned his being raised soon after to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the squadron of the order, and commander of the men of war.

THE king of Spain writes to the grand master, by which he desires him to send the squadron of 2708. the order a second time to the relief of Oran.

Preparations are made for it, but not sent away, because of a report which was spread that the insidels had taken the place, and that the grand seignior was

making a powerful armament.

Perecios, in the midst of his concernat this news, is attacked with the gout and a violent fever.

1709. He receives the facrament with great sentiments of piety, and prepares for death, after having named the grand prior of Messina, Tancred de Sienna, to be lieutenant of the mastership. Finding himself a little easier the next day, he gave brother Alexander Albani the pope's nephew, who was afterwards bailiss of Armenia, the commandry of Viterbo, that was fallen vacant by the death of Rondinelli. He insensibly grows better, and recovers his health entiredly.

A STRONG report that they are fitting out at Conflantinople a fleet of 20 fultana's, 40 gallies, and a great number of little vessels, and that all these preparations are designed against Malta. The council, not to be taken unprovided, desire succours of the pope, who immediately dispatches a tartan laden with powder, and other provisions necessary to sustain a siege, with 150 foldiers, and a promise to send a more considerable reinforcement as soon as possible. The commander d'Alegre is sent to the king of France; the commander de Sannazar to Leghorn; and the commander mander de Monteclair to Genoa. They all came back with confiderable forces, and landed at Malta with a grea number of knights who crowded from all parts to contribute to the defence of the order. They name the general officers; they divide the foldiers into feveral bodies, and muster near 10,000 men, all of them

resolved to make a gallant defence.

AFTER all, the mighty armament of Constantinople, which had made so much noise, proves to be no more than five fultana's, which go to join three other ships that came out of the ports of Tunis and Tripoli. They are apprehensive of a descent on the isle of Goza; they transport every thing thither that is necessary to defend it; and Tancred grand prior of Messina, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, obtains the grand master's leave to go over thither. He consults with the commander de Langon lieutenant-general, and the commander de Montfort governor of the illand, about repairing the fortifications, and puts it in a good posture of defence. But the enemy, despairing perhaps of fucceeding in case they should attempt to attack it, only burnt a few little veffels which they found upon the coast, and failed back to the Levant.

The grand mafter makes confiderable additions to the magazines which his predecessor had built, and by that means improves commerce, and brings plenty in-

to his dominions.

Upon the news that four fultana's were put to sea with a brigantine in order to make a descent in Calabria, the grand master sends out the commander de Florigny with a squadron. After some days sail they spy a large ship, which they know to be the admiral of Tripoli, commanded by the samous corsair Bassa-Ali-Antulla-Ogli-Stamboli. He had 600 men on board, with 56 guns and 40 patterero's, and was attended by a tartan of 12 guns, 30 patterero's, and 200 men, commanded by Mahmut Ogli Casdagli, who was resolved, notwithstanding the orders of his general to the contrary, to stand the attack of the squadron. The commander de Langon who was captain of the St.

James, began the engagement with his cannon; the enemy's fails took fire, and both ships were in a slame. The Turks, despairing to quench it, plunge into the sea; the knights send out their long boat to their succeur, and saved 400 of them, among whom was the rais of the admiral of Tripoli, and 50 Christian slaves whom they set at liberty. The chevalier Pagani de Nocera and sive men on board the St. John were lost.

THE grand master sends for corn to the Levant, and by that means provides against a dearth in 1710. Malta, whither the viceroy of Sicily had refused for above a year to allow any corn to be ex-

ported as ufual.

THE commander de Langon fails with the squadron of ships towards the coast of Barbary. He meets the admiral of Algiers with 500 men on board, and takes it after a long engagement, in which all the enemy's officers were killed. This victory was fatal to the order by the death of the commander, whose valour and admirable qualities occasioned his being greatly regretted. His body was carried to Carthagena, and buried under the great altar of the cathedral. The grand master, to immortalize his memory, ordered a tomb-stone to be erected in the nave of the church of St. John, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

D. O. M.

"FRATRI Josepho de Langon Alverno, cujus virtutem, in ipso tyrocinii sore maturam, Gallicæ naves fecere, Thraces sensere, Melitenses habuere victricem. Oranum dira obsidione cinctum, cum unica religionis navi, cui præerat, onerariam ducens, penetrata Algerii classe, ejusque rege teste vel invito, militem & commeatum invexit. Generalis classum præfectus ad tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam plurimo momente suit. Laudes tamen consilio & fortitudine sibi ubique coemptas in alias continuo transfulit. Suprema tandem Algerii nave subacta, acceptoque inde vulnere acerbo, victor sato cessit,

"die 18 Aprilis 1710, æt. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R.

" de Perellos-Roccaful ad benemerentiæ argumentum,

" mortuo, hoc mœrens politum voluit Cenotaphium, ad

" memoriæ perennitatem."

ATTEMPT of the inquisitor of Malta upon the infirmary of the order. The tribunal of the in-quisition had been introduced into the island by pope Gregory XIII. but with fo much tenderness and caution, that they were scarce sensible of The bishop of Malta was the first person invested with this commission. Some time after, they put in ah officer of the court of Rome, but enjoined him not to do any thing without the concurrence of the grand malter, the bilhop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor; and he was expressly restrained from taking cognizance of any crime but that of herefy. They did not at that time think of oppoling an authority, the exercise of which was lodged in the first persons of the order, nor foresee that the inquisitors might in time " make themselves not only independent but " insupportable to a body of knights descended of the or most noble blood of Christendom, and whose or-" der is invested with a sovereign power over its sub-" jects."

Delci, who exercised the office of inquisitor in 1711, after having carried his pretensions so high, as to insist that the grand master's coach should stop when it met his, thought he ought not to suffer the infirmary of the order to continue any longer exempt from his jurisdiction. 'Twas the most privileged place of the order b, entrusted to the guard of some French knights who were infinitely zealous for their liberty, and subject to no authority but that of the grand hospitaller. No one else, of what quality soever, can enter it with Vol. V.

. Memorial presented to Lewis XIV.

b The very marshal of the order cannot go lato the infirmary, without leaving his staff of command at the door.

out first leaving the marks of his dignity.

Dec. 7. at the door. The officers of the inquisition got in by surprise, and began to make a visitation in form. The commander d'Avernes de Bocage, overseer of the infirmary, upon notice of this attempt, came in great halte to oppose it, turned them out immediately, and entered a protest of nullity against all they might have done in his absence.

THE grand mafter fends the grand prior Zondodari

to Rome as embassador of the order, to give
1712. the pope an account of the unjust pretentions
of the inquisitor. The overfeer of the infirmary goes himself to France to represent the case to his
most Christian majesty, who writes in very warm
terms to his holiness upon that subject, and engages
him to disown and stop the attempts of his deputy.

BROTHER James de Noailles, embassador of the order in France, dies at Paris in the 70th year
Apr. 22. of his age. The bailiss de la Vieuville
succeeds him in that quality, who makes his
entry on the 4th of December with all the ceremonies
used at the entry of the embassadors of sovereign

princes.

THE commander Zondodari, embassador extraordinary at Rome, makes fresh complaints against the inquisitor, for taking upon him the granting of patents to a great number of Maltese to exempt them from the obedience which they owed to their sovereign.

BROTHER Adrian de Langon, captain of the St. Catharine, attacks seven Algerine vessels, puts 1713. them to sight, and takes one called the Half Moon of 40 guns, and manned with 400 men. Thirtysix Christian slaves are delivered on this occasion,

and the order loses only seven men in the engage-

THE pope writes to the grand master to engage him to send the gallies of the order to cruize off of the coast of the ecclesiastical state, where the corsairs of Barbary were continually taking prizes.

THE

THE commander de Langon chases an Algerine corfair of 56 guns and 500 men, comes up with him off of the isles d'Hieres, shoots all his masts 1714. by the board in an engagement of fix hours, and finks him when he could not prevail upon him to strike. They could fave no more than two Christians and fix Turks of all the crew.

ANOTHER ship of Barbary taken, in which they made 95 slaves. Death of the bailiff de la Vieuville embassador of the order in France. The bailist de

Mesmes succeeds him in his post.

THE great preparations made at Constantinople give them an alarm at Malta. The grand master writes to all the knights to be in a readine's to fet out upon the first orders; for that purpole repairs all the fortifications, and provides all things necessary for the defence of the illand.

THE knights dispersed over the several parts of Euwhose advanced age would not suffer them to undertake fuch a journey, remit the revenues of their commandries to the grand mafter, in order to their being employed in the defence of Malta; and others, though disabled from acting by their great age and infirmities, are resolved to go and assist at least with their advice.

THE French knights, not excepting the novices, fignalize their zeal in taking up confiderable fums on their own credit, which they lay out in buying a great quantity of arms and all kinds of ammunition. They fend this supply to Malta, and agree to follow foon after. The grand mafter in the mean time takes 1 50,000 crowns out of the treasury, and borrows a larger fum in his own name, employing it all in fetching from different places every thing that was necessary to make a vigorous defence : he gets a reinforcement of troops and gallies from the pope, and obtains leave to raile men in the ecclefialtical state.

WHILST all these preparations were making at Malta to oppose the enemy, an unknown person of a handfome alpect came to offer his service to the grand master in quality of an engineer. His offers were the more readily accepted as he seemed to be well skilled in fortifications. Some knights were appointed to fhew him all the works, particularly those of la Valette, upon which he gave them feveral good hints, and a great idea of his capacity. Two days after he was flown, and whatever fearch was made after him, they could never find him. They made no question but he was a spy sent by the Turks to observe the condition of the island. This adventure made the grand master think of fending some person on whom he could depend to Constantinople, in order to get a more perfect account of the grand feignior's defigns. Andrew Veran. of the town of Arles, who had lived a long time at Malta, offered himself for this commission, and accordingly let out with a veffel laden with merchandize under pretence of trading in the Levant. He first landed at Napoli di Romania the capital of the Morea, where he met with the captain-general of the republic of Venice. He learned from him, that the Turkish armament was increasing every day, but that it seemed to be defigned only against the Venetians. Sailing from thence to the Dardanelles, he was informed that the infidels had declared war against the state of Venice. He arrived at Constantinople where he saw the count des Alleurs the French embaffador, who took him under his protection, and gave him an exact account of all the defigns of the porte.

In the mean time the knights were arriving at Malta from all quarters, none of them failing to bring some succour along with them. They sitted out a naval force, and the squadron of the order joined that of the pope, that they might be enabled to meet the Ottoman sleet. Veran returned back to Malta; and, by the account he gave of the motions of the Turkish army, they found that either the grand seignior had no design upon that island, or, which was more probable, that he

had altered his measures upon the advice he had received of the good condition it was put in by the grand master's care, and the valt resort of knights thinher from all parts.

THE republic of Venice desires succours from the grand master against the Turks. The order sends them sive men of war and some gallies, 1716.

which give chace to three corfairs of Barbary,

and take one of 54 guns with 500 men on board: they bring it to Malta with four faicks laden with all forts of provisions.

DISPUTES between the commanding officers of the auxiliary squadrons. The pope puts an end to them by giving the commodore of the Maltese squadron the title

of his lieutenant-general.

THE squadron of the order takes several Turkish ships laden with merchandize, and carries them to Corfu, where the chevalier de Langon, who commanded the pope's squadron, gains several advantages over the insidels.

THE ships of the order, with a reinforcement of two frigates and some light vessels, put to see again to join the allies. A Maltese privateer 1717. sinks a large Turkish ship and saves part of the

crew.

A SEA engagement between the auxiliary troops and the Turks near the isle of Stags. The insidels, whose ships suffered a great deal, sly away after having cannonaded one another for two hours together. The auxiliary troops came off without loss. The bailist de Bellesontaine, who commanded the sleet, signalized himself in an extraordinary manner all this campaign, and was received at his return by the grand master with the highest marks of distinction.

THE squadron puts to sea again, reinforced with the St. John man of war of 70 guns, and goes to join the Venetian sect. The Turks grow 1713. less eager to carry on the war, and the Christian armada finds sew opportunities of signalizing it self

this campaign.

THE pope gives the cross of Malta to the king of Poland's natural son. The squadron of the 1719. order make a considerable prize in the Archipelago, where they take two gallies richly laden from Constantinople, on one of which the basha of Romelia with all his family was going to Napoli di Romania.

THE chevalier Fraguier, first ensign of the grand master's company of guards, brings his most Christian majesty a present of birds of prey, a present which the grand masters are used to make to the king of France.

THE chevalier d'Orleans takes the oaths before the king for the grand priory of France, which 1720, was vacant upon the voluntary refignation of

the grand prior de Vendôme.

THE grand master Raimond Perellos de Rocaful, being worn out with his great age, and a sit of sickness, which had been upon him upwards of a year, dies after a reign of 22 years. He distinguished himself by his liberality to such families as had been ruined by the insidels; made considerable improvements in the fortifications of the island, and omitted nothing he thought might any way contribute to support the lustre and glory of his order.

THE electors being affembled with the usual ceremonies, chuse the bailiff MARC ANMARC ANTONIO ZONDODARI for their grand
TONIOZONmaster. He was a native of Sienna, and
highly worthy of the mastership on account of his personal merit and his illustrious birth. The rejoicings made on this occasion
are heightened by the taking of two large corsairs of
Barbary, which were brought at the same time into the
harbour. This success is soon after followed by the
taking of the admiral of Algiers, a ship of 80 guns, and
soo men on board.

THE bailiff Ruffo is made general of the gallies of the order. The grand master obtains a brief from the pope, to oblige all such knights as had upwards of

200 l.

MARC ANTONIO-ZONDODART Grand Master. 197

300 I. annual income, to maintain every one a foldier at his own expense for the fecurity of the island; but it does not appear that this brief was ever put in execution.

THE squadron which the grand master had granted the king of Spain to guard his coasts, puts to sea under the command of the bailiss de Lan-1721.

gon, and chases a galliot of Barbary that was cruifing off of the coast of Sardinia. They cannot come up with her, but take a pink which she had made a prize of a little before. The St. John man of war, of which the commodore was on board, meets, some days afterwards, with an Algerine vessel of 40 guns, comes up with her, and takes her after an hour's Twenty Christian slaves were delivered, engagement. and 260 infidels made flaves. A few days after, they meet the squadron of Tunis, consisting of the admiral. the Patrone, and the Porcupine. The two first get off in the night, after a long and imart engagement; but the Porcupine was forced to strike, after having stood it out against all the five till ten at night. They deliver thirty-two Christians, who were agves in this ship. This fuccess, which was owing to the valour of captain Algonis de la Grois, casts such a terror over all the coast of Barbary, that no corsair dares stir out to cruile.

DON Carlo Conti, prince of Poli, nephew to the pope, receives the cross of the order from the hands of cardinal Pamphileo, grand prior of Rome.

The grand master, who had been attacked for upwards of six months with a kind of gangrene in his bowels, dies on the 16th of June, at the age of 63 years 7 months and 15 days. This prince, who was highly estimable for his singular piety, took great care to fortify the island, was exceeding charitable, maintained a regularity of discipline in his order, as much by his example as his authority, and wanted nothing but a longer reign to answer in every respect the great hopes conceived of him.

BRO-

BROTHER don Raimond d'Espong, bailiss of Negropont, lieutenant of the mastership, calls the couneil together; and, after the usual ceremonies, the elec-

D'ANTHONY EMA-NUEL DE VILHE-NA. tors agreed unanimously in the choice of d'Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena, a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, to be their grand master. His birth.

his personal virtues, and his perfect knowledge of the rules and maxims of the order, made him truly worthy of this promotion. He had passed through all the dignities of the order, and distinguished himself in them all. He had hardly finished his caravans when he was made captain of the admiral galley, and was wounded in an engagement with two, Tripoli ships, which general Antonio Correa de Sousa took in 1680. Four years after he was made captain of one of the men. of war, which the order fent to affift the Venetians in the conquest of the Morea. They made him succesfively major, and then colonel of the country militia. In 1602 he had the command of the 8th galley, and the year following that of the St. Anthony. He was made great cross of grace in 1696, commissary of the navy two years afterwards, and commissary of war in 1701. The dignity of great chancellor of the order was conferred upon him in 1713. He quitted it three years after to take that of bailiff d'Acre; was chose one of the 21 electors for the election of the grand mafter Zondodari, and the same year was made procurator of the treasury. These several posts, in all of which he behaved himself to the infinite satisfaction of the order in general, were so many steps to raise him to the maftership.

The new grand master's first care was to put the island in a state of defence against the invasion with which the Turks still threatened it. He built fort Emmanuel on the little isle of Marsa-mousset, which the insidels might have easily seized on, and would thereby have greatly facilitated their success. He likeways ordered

Anth. Emanuel De Vilhena Grand Mafter. 199

ordered all such knights as were 19 years of age to re-

pair to him.

THE grand seignior's great preparations against the order were made at the instance of a slave, called Hali, whom Mahomet Effendi, his embassador in Franco, had redeemed as he passed by Malta. This slave, who was beloved by the knights, and in favour with the grand master, had served in the navy, and had been for ten years iman or chief of the Turkish slaves that were at Malta. Upon his return to Constantinople, he gave the ministers of the porte an account of the forces of the order, and perfuaded them that it would be an easy matter to surprise the island, by the help of those flaves, who were ever prepared for a revolt, and were more in number than the inhabitants: that in order to fucceed in their attempt, they needed only fit out a squadron of ten ships, and appear with it before Malta, where the flaves would infallibly take arms, and their infurrection crown them with fuccess.

THE project pleased the grand vizier. Accordingly commodore Abdi Capitan put to sea with ten ships: Hali embarked likeways with a captain's commission, when they came and presented themselves before Malta. But the wise precautions the grand master had taken ren dered the executing of their design impracticable. They retired after a few broadsides, and Abdi Capitan sent the grand master the following letter:

"THE first man of the isle of Malta, the heads of his council, and chiefs of the languages of France, of Venice, and other nations that adore the Mellias, are advertised by this letter, that we have been expressly sent by the grand seignfor, the master of the universe, and refuge of the world, to order them to deliver up to us all such slaves as are under their miserable government, that they may be presented before his supreme and august throne. This is his pleasure, and his design in sending us with this squadron. If you fail to obey, dreadful punishments will make you repent your fault. Send your answer to Tunis."

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THIS stile, so agreeable to the pride of the grand feignior's officers, did not however hinder the grand mafter from answering the letter, in hopes that it might be of use in procuring the deliverance of some Christian slaves. The tenor of his letter, which was wrote with politeness and dignity, was as follows: "That the defign of his order was not to fcour the " feas in the view only of making flaves, but to cruife " with their thips for fecuring the liberty of the feas to " all Christian vessels; that they attacked such only as of disturbed commerce, and who deserved to be made " flaves for endeavouring to make the Christians for " that they had nothing so much at heart as the deli-" very of fuch of theirs as were in flavery, and that if " his highness was in the same disposition, they were ready to enter into a treaty for restoring the slaves on both fides to their liberty, either by way of exchange or ranfom, as was generally practifed among or princes; and that if his highness would let them " know his intentions, they should not be wanting on their part to fecond them."

This answer was directed to the marquis of Bonac, the French embassador at Constantinople, with 723. a desire that he would deliver it to any mini-

ster of the porte whom he should judge proper. The French embaffador, judging, by the contents of the letter, and the delicacy with which it was wrote, that the grand mafter's delign was not so much to anfwer the commodore of a squadron, as to communicate his intentions to the grand leignjor himself by his first minister, sent it to the grand visier. Some days after he spoke to him about it, and was agreeably surprised to find him disposed not only to make an exchange of flaves, but to enter into a treaty of peace with the order The marquis of Bonac, persuaded that such of Malta. a peace would be of great advantage to all Christendom in general, as well as to the order in particular, laboured at it with great application, and prevailed fo far with the grand vizier, whom he had wrought upon by his probity and fincerity, more than by the superiority of his genius, that all the articles which he proposed were agreed to. This being done, he sent them to the grand master, and wrote to the court of France, upon the same subject, which, after a mature examination, sent him orders to continue his endeayours to bring the affair to a happy conclusion.

THE grand maîter had the proposals of the porte examined, and sent his observations on them to M. de Bonac. They chose rather to make a limited truce than a peace; they took all the necessary precautions to keep the order from all manner of stain or reproach, and the grand vizier agreed to every thing. The ar-

ticles stipulated between them were,

1. That the flaves should be exchanged on both sides, and that if there should be more on one side than on the other, the supernumerary ones should be delivered at the rate of 100 pieces of eight per head.

2. THAT this exchange should extend no further than to such slaves only as had been taken by the ships

of the Maltese and the grand seignior.

3. That the truce should continue for 20 years, at the expiration of which time, they might treat for another.

4. THAT the republics of Africa should not be comprehended in the treaty, and that the porte should not give them any succour, either directly or indirectly, against Malta.

5. THAT the Maltese should have the same privileges as the French in all the grand seignior's domini-

ons.

6. THAT the treaty should be null, whenever any Christian prince should be at war with the porte.

The news of this treaty was received at Constantinople with great applause. But the captain basha, resenting that an affair which related to the sea should be treated without first consulting him, engaged all the sea officers to oppose it. They carried their point so far as to make the grand vizier change his note, who,

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feeing their universal discontent, did not care to carry the negotiation further. However, he told the marquis of Bonac, that he had not changed his views, and that it would be an easy matter to bring that affair on foot again, by only taking certain measures to gain the consent of the sea officers, whose own interest would

infallibly oblige them to give into the scheme.

DURING this negotiation, the account of which I thought it would not be proper to interrupt, the grand mafter, upon advice that a Tunis man of war was cruifing in company with a tartan, between the isles of Maritimo and Panteleria, and had taken two barks, viz. one of Sicily, and the other of Genoa, fent the St. John man of war, and a frigate, to look out for them. They meet the corfairs, who purfue them for fome time to reconnoitre them, but afterwards think fit to fland off, and endeavour to get from them. The Maltele frigate comes up with the ship; and, after exchanging broadlides for four hours together, forces it to ftrike. This ship was an excellent sailer, and had been given by the grand feignior to the bay of Tripoli, who had made her his patronne. She was mounted with 48 guns, and 14 brafs pattereroes, with 400 men on board, of which no more than 267 Turks furvived. Three and thirty Christian slaves recover their liberty on this occasion. This important victory was owing to the valour of the chevalier de Chambray who commanded the frigate. The St. John man of war purfued the tartan and took it, and both the prizes were brought to Malta.

Pore benedict XIII. is desirous of giving the grand master and the order of Malta a distinguishing mark of his affection. He dispatches a gentleman of his bed-chamber to Malta, to present that prince with a long rapier, and a helmet which he had conse-

crated

^{*} THE rapier is a filver fword gilt, about five foot long. The helmet is a kind of cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and embellished with an holy ghost of pearls.

ANTH. EMANUEL DE VILHENA Grand Mafter. 20%

crated a Christmas with great solemnity. The present is received with all possible acknowledgements by the grand master, who considers it as a new motive to signalize himself more and more in the practice of all the virtues which have so justly gained him the respect of his brother knights, the friendship of the princes of Europe, and the paternal tenderness of his holiness.

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Ancient and Modern GOVERNMENT

OFTHE

Religious and Military ORDER

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

THOUGH an history of this order ought naturally to give an account of the first constitutions, arutes, and original form of its government, yet a series of time, and a variety of conjunctures, have insensibly occasioned changes therein, which are unavoidable in the condition of human nature; and it would betray a groß ignorance of the inconstancy and weakness of mankind, to offer to judge of the present constitution of a state by its ancient customs, and the practice of the first ages after its establishment.

This confideration determined me, for the entire fatisfaction of the reader, to annex, at the end of this work, a particular discourse upon the present state of the order of Malta. I shall first treat of the several classes into which the order is divided. My next enquiry shall be into the proofs of noble desent that are required in order to be admitted into the first class. Afterwards shall follow a particular account of the nature

DISSERTATION uponthe Government, &c. 285

of the commandries, and the qualities requisite to be intitled to them. From there I shall pass to the dignities which give a right of fitting either in the general chapter or in the council, and shall add, at the end of this article, a list of the principal offices of the order, and of the persons that have the right of nomination to them? and this treatile will conclude with the form observed in the election of the grand master, a dignity of a singular nature, which, whosever is invested with enjoys an entire sovereignity, and all the royalties of a prince over the secular inhabitants at the same time that, with regard to the knight, he is considered only as the head and superior of a religious and

military republicy

THE church has in its bolom various orders of religi. ous, who, without exerciting the lame functions, have all of them their particular merit in the fight of God, and who, by their variety, courribute, each in his respective way, to the ornament and beauty of the church. Some sequeltring themselves voluntarily from the conversation of mankind, buried as it were in folitude, and wrapped up in their own virtue, spend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more converfant in the world apply themselves chiefly to the infiredion of their perghbour, and contribute to the filtance in the ecclefialtical uninitary. There are fome to enflamed with zeal for the convertion of infidels, that they go to the farthest parts of the earth to preach the golpel. The same zeal, but acted by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentry, fome ages ago, take up arms to preferve the Christians from being made flaves by the Maliometans and infidels; and it is of the form of government of this last kind of religious. whole history I have just concluded, that I am going to give an account of in this place. sorellas relider in print terresections in principals. The documents of the among the bee

ARTICLE I. behind

of the commendate, and the qualities its the

Of the several classes of religious in the order of St. John.

HE hospitallers, considered merely as religious, are divided into three classes, all of them different from one another, with respect to birth, and rank, and functions. The first class consists of those whom they call knights of justice, i. e. as the formulary of their profession expresses it, such, the ancient nobility of whole descent merits their being admitted to that degree of honour; and none but thele are qualified to be advanced to the dignities of bailiffs and priors, whom they call grand crolles, or to that of grand malter. Time, which is too frequently the author of abuses and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admittingother persons into the rank of knights of justice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called knights. of grace; they being such as being descended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble orplebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal dispensation.

THE second class comprehends the religious who are chaplains, and belonging in that capacity to the metropolitan church of St. John, where they perform divine service. Out of this body they generally take their chaplains, both for the great hospital of Malta, and for the ships and gallies of the order; and they exercise the same function in the grand master's chapel. Notwithstanding that, in all the states of Chri-Rendom, the clergy have the first rank, on account of the dignity of their ministry, nevertheless the knights, though but mere laymen, take place of the priefts, and have all the authority in their hands; " quia omnis " potestas residet in primatibus." We do not find any instance of the like government, but among the brothers of the charity, another order of holpitallers, where the religious, who are priefts and ministers at

the.

the altar, are to far from having any fliare in the government, that they are entirely dependent on Superiors who are meet layment slout at bug stade out to

What they call the third class comprehends the ferving brothers of arms, a body of religious, who without being ou hen priests to knights, are nevertheless obliged, whether they are in the field, or in the infirmary, to ferve under the orders of the knights, and. like them, make four caravans of fix months each on board the ships of the order. This body of half knights, if we may give them that name, was formerly very numerous and confiderable, and did great fervices to the order. There were likeways of old a certain number of commandies defined for them. which the chaplains and the ferving brothers of arms still enjoy in common at this day, they falling either to the one or the other according to their femority. But for some years past, the number of lerving brothers of arms is very much leffened, and a decree thas been made to suspend the admitting of any more till further orders could find to valerate at the the the content of

I Plass over the priefts of obedience, who, without being obliged ever to go to Malta, receive the religious habit, make their vows in form, and are afterwards fixed in the particular service of some church of the order, under the authority of a grand prior, or a commander. There are still at Malta some serving brothers de stage, a kind of vaffals employed in the meanest offices of the convent and hospitals; details of to little consequence, that I do not think it proper to trouble the reader with them. But this account would be imperfect if I did not fpeak of the religious dames of this order, of which there are feveral numeries in France, Italy, and Spain. These nuns, before they can be received, are obliged to give the fame proofs of their noble descent as the knights of justice a there are even fome famous numeries, as that of Sixene in Arragon, and Dalgoveira in Catalonia, in which the proofs of I was a second of the second o

All the man and a fire or said the contract of the

gentility, which would be allowed of for the reception of a knight, would not yet be sufficient for a nun of the choir; and in those two houses they insist on such a purity and antiquity of gentility in a lady who offers herself, that it exceeds the degrees which the statutes require for the reception of the knights of justice.

ARTICLE II.

Of the reception of the brother knights.

T F we take the word chevalerie or chivalry, in the general notion that first presents itself, it is a profesfion of ferving on horseback in war, which, among most nations, has been always a mark of gentility, to diffinguish persons of a noble extraction from those of a plebeian birth. The quality of chevalier or knight was in the middle age confined to fuch noble perfons, as either before or after an engagement, had deserved to receive the order of chivalry ot knighthood from their general, as a testimony and recompence of their valour: and it was generally conferred in the field, by the general's giving them a kils, and girding a fword about them. But this honourable distinction was never granted but to martial men, descended from antient knights, and of a military extraction, "ad militarem "honorem," fays the emperor Frederic II. " nullus ac-" cedat, qui non fit de genere militum." Here are two kinds of knighthood, the one entirely of descent. " genus militare;" the other meerly personal, "militaris "honos." Theodore Haping speaks of this latter knighthood, which is to be acquired only by a man's own valour, when he fays, that no body is born a knight : " nemo eques nascitur, sed per habentem potestatem " folità sub formulà." So Peter de la Vigne, in his life of the emperor Frederic, above mentioned, fays the last with the party that he had been and the con-

N. B. The word gentility, which is made use of in several places in the translation, is, in the original, nobleste or nobility.

expressly, "licet generis nobilitas in posteros deri"vetur, non tamen equestris dignitas." To prevent
confounding these two kinds of knighthood, the one
which a man derives meerly from his ancestors, and
the other, which he acquires only by his own warsike
exploits, some historians of the middle age have employed the term (milites) to signify knights who were
ancestors of the person they speak of, and use that of
(eques) only to distinguish the person who acqually has

received the order of knighthood.

THE knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in their military institution, kept strictly to this usage. All the remains we have in France, and in the registers of the priories of the three languages of this nation, of the names of the old knights of that order, thew plainly that they were all descended from warlike ancestors and gentlemen both by name and the arms they bore. But as in process of time different cultoms arose, and that every nation fancied they had a right to determine, and even extend the nature of gentility, as well as fix the proofs of it, the chief magistracies, and several civil officers, have obtained in France and Italy the same advantages as a gentility wholly military, so that in those two nations they actually receive persons for knights who would be refused in Germany. This obliges me to enterinto a detail of the different proofs which are required in most of the languages to shew the nobility of all such presentees as offer themselves to be admitted into the order in quality of knights of justice : and as the kingdom of France alone comprehends three languages, and confequently furnishes more knights. than any other country, I shall give a short account of the different rules which they have observed at differtimes in the reception of the knights.

If we may give credit to persons who are well skilled in heraldry, the use of coats of arms is derived from the crusades. So many crosses of different figures, as we see in the escutcheons of the ancient gentry are a sufficient proof of this fact: and the colours, the ena-

[&]amp; Provence, Auvergne, France.

mels, the vaire, and the contrevaire that we meet therea owe their original to the furs which those warriors ufed for an ornament to their coats of arms. The generality of them went to the holy land on purpose to reseive the order of knighthood; and they thought them! felves more than recompensed for the perils and fatigues of so long a voyage, if in any battle fought against the infidels, they had but received the kils from a prince or general and been dabbed a knight. The military order, whose history I have been writing, was founded upon the fame principle, and formed upon the fame model. They admitted none for knights but fuch as before their entrance into the order, had either themselves been graced with that title, or who were at least defeended of aucient knights : fo that we may look upon this part of the order of St. John, as a crufade compoied entirely of gentry! Anciently Jerufalem and the fuch knights as dedicated themselves to this holy order of knighthood. We find, that gentlemen fent their fons thither very young to be brought up in the head convent of the order, in hopes that they would be there formed alike for piety, and the art of war; but they never received these young gentlemen, unless they brought with them an authentic tellimony of their noble extraction, attested by the priors of the country where they were born t and before their letting out, thefe priors were likewise to give them letters of recommendation, and a promife that they should receive the hahits of the order, and be admitted to make their vows, as foon as ever they came to the flaturable age for being made knights, which among the feculars was ferried at the twentieth year. " Nullus" fays a ftatute of the order made in 1144, " ex hospitali miles " fieri requirat, nifi, antequam habitum religionis af-" flumeret, extiterit ei promissum; et tune quando in " illa erit constitutus ætate, in qua fæcularis officii " miles possit fieri : nintlominus tamen filti nobilium in " dome hospitali numiti, cum ad etatem militarem

See Land Land Bern Da Could

" pervenerint de voluntate magistri & præceptoris,
" & de confilio fratrum poterunt militia infigniri."

WE have already observed, that the young knights were at first received in no other place but at the head convent of the order; but the recruits they wanted to fupply the place of fuch as were continually loging their lives in fighting against the infidels, obliged the chapters and supreme councils of the order to consent, that they might, after the proofs of their gentility had been examined, give the habit to novices in the grand priories on this fide the fea; and as the ill practice of contracting unequal marriages with women of mean birth and condition, had not yet crept into noble families, all the attestations of the gentility of the presentee went no farther than the mentioning his father and mother's name, who were justly supposed to be descended of gentlemen by name as well as arms. A proof of this may be seen in the lift that will be given at the end of this discourse, when it will appear, that in 1355, the date where the oldest registers of the grand priory of France begin, they never received any body but gentlemen whose names and families were known, and even distinguished in their several provinces.

BUT this very gentry, which till that time had preferved itself unfullied, being reduced to narrow circumstances by expences that are unavoidable in war, was foon forced for their support, to prostitute as it were their nobleblood by contracting marriages below them: and lords and gentlemen by name as well as arms, began to debase themselves in marrying rich plebeians. The fear, left these unequal matches should bring the order in contempt by the reception of knights descendof them, engaged the whole body to make a regulation, requiring that an authentic instrument should be drawn up in writing with legal proofs, to flew the legitimacy and descent of the person presented; and the like proofs were to be produced with respect to his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, great grandfather and great grand mother, for upwards of an hundred years, with a blazon of these eight quarters a selected to be deannexed

annexed to the infirment ; and the perion prefented, was likewife to prove that his great grandfathers had been generally reputed gentlemen of name as well as arms. This last article of the statute is still in force at this day, or is at least kept up in the form of the in-Arament. But the proof of this last qualification required with respect to the great grandfathers does not seem to be very easy to be given in France, by knights who no other from from whence they can derive their gentility, but a perty fecretary of the king's s, a gentleman of the town hall, a mayor or alderman of tome of those towns which entitle their magistrates to the rank of gentlement and I cannot possibly comprehend how a man, who has no other fourde of his gentility but one of slink offices, which after all enguey it no lower than agrindion, can be employed in a genealogy in the proof of a great grandfather as if he was a gentleman by name as well as arms; how he can pais for a gentleman of ancient race who dopped by dint of money only the plebeian blood that was creeping in his veins, and who was never ben to draw his (word in the fervice of his country, Whor is it less difficult to account for how the quality pequired in a grand father of being a gentleman by name as well as arms, can fornetimes be applied to a tradefinan who is ennobled by an office in the daw, without giving an unnatural and forced interpretation to that title, and it is very extraordinary to pretend, that a magistrate's robe ought to be put upon the same level with a warrior's coat of arms, and to sines the privileges of true nobility to that robe.

How a very norwithstanding this difficulty, which after all eries only from an unwillingues to after any thing in the old file of the flatures, we must need own that they are very exact and first with respect to the proofs which they require of gentility for the eight quarters of the presentee. These proofs out the presenter, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular management at the proofs and secret, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular management at the proofs and secret.

Un noble de la cloche.

THE first proof is called testimonial, because it arises from the testimony of four persons of noble estraction, who night to be gentlemen of name as well as arms. The commissioners, who are generally old commissioners, make them take a folemn oath to speak the trait and likewise interrogate them separately it is there be any thing that can make this kind of proof suspected it is that in France, the person presented, or his relations, generally provide these withersea loss and it is traited.

THE fecond proof is called literal, because it is taken from writings, deeds, contracts, acknowledgements of tenures, and furveys which the perioti prefented produces : upon which it may be proper to observe, that though marriage, writings, and wills are necessary to a full proof of the descent and statutableness of the person presented, yet these kind of writings are not sufcient to prove his gentility, by reason of the opportunity notaries have of furnishing the parties contracting with any titles and qualities which they please to beflow on themselves, without ever examining whether they are really due to them or note. But in defect of thele writings, which amount to not more than a bare declaration, without any legal proof, they have recourse to the partition of lands of a noble tenure, to deeds of guardianship, to grants of the wardship of lands held in capite, to acts of fealty and homage, to acknowledgements of vaffalage and furveys, to commillions, warrants, and grants of polls and dignities that either imply gentility, or entitle a man to it, to furnmous for attending the king in the field, and lattly to monuments, epicaphs, coats of arms, glais-windows, and ancient eleutcheons in churches visits and become

The third proof is called local, because the commissioners are obliged to go to the very place of the person's nativity, and when they are delirous of being exact, they ought to go likewise into the country from whence this family came originally, and to the very place whence those his ancestous came who he precend were gentlemen by uson as well as arms; or, if this place is very remote, and lies in another priory, to and take the examinations necessary in this case.

THE fourth kind of proof is derived from a fecret enquiry, which the commissioners make unknown to the person presented. They do not insift, that the witnesses should be gentlemen like the four first; in this choice, regard is only had to their probity. When these four kinds of proofs appear to be substantial, and confiftent with one another, the commissioners draw up an infirement in form containing an account of them. which is carried to the chapter of the priory; from thence it passes into the hands of two new commission oners, who examine whether all the rules prescribed by the statutes have been exactly observed in these informations; and when it appears that nothing has been omitted, this instrument with its proofs, and the blazon of the eight quarters, is fent to Malta, from whence there comes a warrant to give the habit of the order to the presentee. We have already observed, that with regard to the three languages of the kingdom of France, viz. Provence, Anvergne, and France, the statutes and the present practice require that the presentee prove his great grandfathers by the father and mother saide were gentlemen by name as well as arms which forms, as was before observed, the eight quarters of gentility. The in to age an

In the language of Italy they are obliged to produce no more than four quarters; but every one of these, viz. that of the father and mother, and that of the grand mother by the father and mother's side, must have a known gentility of 200 years, and it must be proved that every one of these four families have had the quality of gentlemen for 200 years past. In like manner they require only the blazon and the arms of these four families, without going, as they do in France, so far upwards as the great grandmother. We must likewise observe with regard to the language of Italy that in the commonwealths of Genoa and Lucca, and the grand duke's territories, traffic, and the trade of banking, are not any way derogatory to a person as in the

other

other priories of the same language, and in all the other languages of the order. We are told that they are not a jot more scrupulous upon this article at Rome and all over the pope's dominions, than they are at Genoa and Florence; upon which the following reflection may very well be made, viz. that this is making

knights of a very base allay.

WITH regard to the languages of Arragon and Caftile, the candidate is first to present the names of his four quarters, i. e. of his father and mother, and his grandmothers both by the father and mother's fide. and to express in his petition the places from whence these four families originally came: whereupon the chapter of the priory to which he applies himfelf difpatch some commissioners secretly to go upon the spot, and inform themselves whether these families are reputed noble, and whether they do not defcend orginally from lewish or Mahometan ancestors. If the report of these secret commissioners is favourable to the presenter. they appoint others to take authentic informations from the lords and perions of the greatest quality in each quarter: and these commissioners usually take all care possible to surprise such as they have a mind to interrogate, that they may not be prepared before-hand. The depositions of these lords and gentlemen are judged to be sufficient, and they do not insist on writings or settlements as in France. So that all the proof of gentility in the provinces of Spain, confilts in informations and interrogatories with respect to the four quarters. They however do not fail to vifit the churches where there are any monuments, epitaphs, or other marks of honour of the ancestors of the presentee, and to examine whether their coats of arms are the same with his. For besides the authentic proof which they insift on of the religion and gentility of the presentee from the fourth generation, he is obliged to present on a sheet of paper an eleutcheon bearing quarterly the arms of the four families which he produces of the proof of his gentility. With the South State of the With

WITH regard to Portugal, which makes part of the language of Caltile, they have no occasion to take the fecret and preliminary informations concerning the quality of the families of the four quarters; because, by virtue of an old custom established by the kings of that nation, the names of all the noble families of the kingdom are carefully preserved in public registers; and if the four quarters from which the candidate pretends to be descended are not inserted in them, they never

proceed to the public information.

THERE is not in the whole order of Malta any language or nation where the proofs are more rigorous, or made with greater exactness than in Germany. In this the natural fons and baltards of fovereign princes are not admitted to be knights of justice, as is practifed in the other languages. The legitimate children also of chief magistrates, though their families have been always reputed noble, are in like manner excluded, bebecause their gentility is deemed to be a civil gentility. and for that reason unqualified to enter into a body where they admit only a military gentility by name as well as arms: and the cultom of the language of Germany is to infilt on proofs of fixteen quarters before any knight can be received, and the very fame proofs which they require in the noble collegiate bodies of that nation. The gentlemen that depose as witnesses affert upon oath, that these fixteen quarters are very noble; that the genealogy which the candidate has given in is a faithful one, and proved by authentic writings, and that all the quarters produced are of families already received in the affemblies of the circles, and qualified to be admitted into all the noble collegiate bodies. The blood from which a man must be descended, ought to run in a very pure stream, and all the alliances of it must be very noble, otherways there is no making proof of these sixteen quarters. And, at the fame time, they are so very rigid in this language, that they would not let a fingle quarter pass that had been refused in any collegiate body: which has given occafion to a faying, viz. that if a fon of the grand feignfor's

was to be converted, and desire to be received as a knight in the language of Germany, he could not be admitted in it, as well for want of legitimacy, as for the difficulty he would have to prove fixteen quarters

on the woman's fide.

When a knight hath made all his proofs, he may be received at three different ages. He is received as of age at fixteen, though he is not obliged to go to Malia till he is twenty, and he pays about 260 crowns of gold, worth about an hundred pence each, for his passage-fees. Secondly, they may enter themselves as pages to the grand master, and are received as such at twelve years of age, and quit it at sisteen: the passage-fees for a young page are almost the same as those which are paid when a person is received of age. In sine, within these hundred years they have made knights of minority, children in their very cradles; a very modern practice, which the passion of parents for the advancement of their children has rendered very common: the occasion of it shall be related in few words.

WHEN the order was in possession of the isle of Rhodes, there was, in the city of that name, a place called the Collachium, or the Cloister, a quarter set apart for the lodgings of the religious only, and divided from the dwellings of the fecular inhabitants. In the general chapter held at Malta in 1631, it was refolved, that they should build a cloister of the same nature; a project which could not be put in execution without a fund of 100,000 crowns. As the treasury was very low, they refolved, for the supplying of what was wanting, to grant an hundred dispensations for receiving a hundred young children into the order, upon condition that they gave a thousand crowns a piece for their passage-fees, belides some other small fees. These hundred dispensations were presently filled; but the Collachium was not built : the money arising from this scheme was employed upon other occasions, and this contrivance has been found to be fo convenient, that, in default of a general chapter, they have recourse to the authority of the popes, the first superiors of the brothers

order, who, by particular briefs which they issue out, authorise this reception of minors, on condition of paying 323 pistoles and a third, at the current rate of Spanish pistoles for their passage-fees. This entrancemoney is called passage-fees, and owes its original to a sum of money which a young gentleman, who was desirous of going to take the habit at Jerusalem, or at Rhodes, formerly paid to the master that carried him thither.

This is pretty near the form observed in the reception of the knights of justice, and in the proofs which are required of their gentility. As for the chaplains or conventual brothers, and the ferving brothers of arms, who are not tied up to fuch kind of proofs, they are however obliged to shew that they are born of honest parents, who never were servants, or practised any vile or mechanic art; that their fathers, mothers, and grandfathers, by both father and mother's fide, as well as they themselves, were all born in lawful wedlock. These serving brothers, whether of the church or of arms, though born of parents who had no title to gentility, do nevertheless, in quality of religious, make up part of the body of the order in conjunction with the knights of justice, and are called to the grand master's election in which they have their votes. The chaplains have this further advantage, viz. that the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, are taken out of their body, and have the first place in council after the grand master, or, in his absence, after his lieutenant. But they are the only persons of these two last classes who have any share in the government, all the authority being lodged in the hands of the knights of justice. However, to make them some amends, they have assigned them some commandries, to which they succeed by turns, according to their rank and feniority from the time of their reception: they are likeways entertained, and have their table like the knights in the inns of their respective languages.

THERE are at Malia seven palaces, which they call inns, where all the religious, both knights and serving brothers.

brothers, and the novices of the feven languages, as well as fuch as are actually professed, have their tables. The commanders, who are supposed to be rich enough to fubfilt on the revenues of the ircommandries, are very seldom there: every head or pillier of an inn has a considerable apartment in it. The treasury of the order furnishes him a sum either in money, corn or oil for the diet of the religious of his inn. His own particular table is served with a plenty that spreads itself over the tables about it: but with all this the religious would often make but forry cheer, if the pillier of the inn did not, out of his own purse, supply what was wanting in the allowance from the treasury. But as those who have the keeping of the inn, have a right to the first dignity that becomes vacant in their language, they all strive, either by thriftiness, or by borrowing of their friends, to procure wherewithal to keep house with Whenever the inn becomes vacant, either by the pillier's death, or by his promotion to an higher dignity, the oldest knight of the language succeeds They have no regard whether he is a commander or a private knight; all they confider is only whether he be the fenior knight of his language; that he owe nothing to the treasury; and in cale he enjoys any of the orders estates, that he has made improvements on them, and given in his terrier, or account of their rents; that he has kept a ten year's residence in the convent; in fine, that he, by virtue of his feniority, has demanded the vacant dignity, which, though it be burdensome, is nevertheless always courted, because it is ever a path that leads to another, which has revenues sufficient to make them an ample satisfaction for all the expence they have been at.

'Tis for the same reason that some young knights, as soon as they have made their caravans, desire leave to sit out gallies, in hopes of getting a commandry the sooner. For though the order is always at part of the expence of such armaments, it nevertheless costs these young knights very considerable sums out of their own pockets, in the hopes they entertain of being indemni-

fied by a commandry of courtely, which they generally receive from the bounty of the grand mafters.

For the defraying of fo many different expences, as the order is obliged to be at, either for the maintenance of the knights, the support of the hospital, or the keeping up of forces by fea and land, they have funds arifing from the prizes which they take from the infidels, from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and revenues of vacant dignities. A mortuary is the personal estate of a deceased knight, and if he be a commander, it takes in the revenue of the rest of the year from the time of his death to the first of May following. The profits of vacancies go likeways to the order, and continue a year longer. In fine, the most substantial revenue the order has, confilts in the responsions which they levy upon the priories, bailiwicks, and commandries: employments and dignities, each of which will now be treated of in particular.

ARTICLE III.

Of the dignities, priories, bailiwicks, and commandries appropriated to the knights of justice.

In the history preceeding this differtation, we have seen that the order is divided into eight languages, viz. Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Castile, to each of which a particular dignity is annexed. Provence enjoys that of great commander. The marshal is always taken from that of Auvergne. The language of france has that of great hospitaller. The admiral is taken from that of Italy. The drapier, who is now stilled the great conservator, is of the language of Arragon. The turcopolier, or general of the horse, was formerly of the language of England; but since the change of religion in that kingdom, the grand master's seneschal is invested with this title. The post of grand bailist belongs to the language

of Germany, and that of great chancellor to the lan-

guage of Castile.

In the language of Provence there are two priories, viz. St. Giles and Toulouse, with the bailiwick of Manosque. There are 54 commandries in the priory of St. Giles, and 35 in the grand priory of Toulouse.

THE language of Auvergne has but one grand priory, which bears the same name, and the bailiwick of Lyons, which was antiently called the bailiwick of Lurveul: there are 40 commandries of knights, and eight of serving brothers within this priory.

THE language of France has three grand priories. The grand priory of France contains 45 commandries, that of Aquitain 65, and the grand priory of Cham-

pagne 24.

THERE is likeways in the same language, the bailiwick of the Morea, the title of which is annexed to St. John de Lateran at Paris, and the post of great treafurer united to the commandry of St. John de Corbeil.

In Italy, the grand prior of Rome has 19 commandries under him, the prior of Lombardy 45, the prior of Venice 27, the priors of Barletto and Capua have 25 together, the prior of Messina 12, the prior of Pisa 26, and the bailists of St. Euphemia, St. Stephen's of Monopoli, the Trinity of Venusia, and of St. John de Naples, are comprehended in the language of Italy.

ARRAGON, Catalonia, and Navarre, compose the

language of Arragon.

THE grand prior of Arragon, commonly called in history the Castellan of Emposta, has 29 commandries within his district, the prior of Catalonia 28, and the prior of Navarre 17: the bailiwick of Majorca is of this language, and the bailist of Caps in Africa depends likeways upon it. But this bailiwick has been lost to the order ever fince the loss of Tripoli and its adjoining territory.

The language of England and Scotland, comprehended formerly the priory of England, or of St. John of London, and that of Ireland: there were in this priory 32 commandries, belides the bailiwick of l'Aigle,

or of the Eagle.

THE grand prior of Germany is prince of the holy Empire, and relides at Heitershexm. He has in High as well as Low Germany, 67 commandries in his dependence, besides the priors of Bohemia and Hungary, and the bailiwick of Sonneberg, which is now in the

hands of the Lutherans.

CASTILE, the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal. compose what is called the language of Castile. Underthe priors of Caltile and Leon are 27 commandries. and that of Portugal, called the priory of Crato, has 21. besides the bailiwick of la Bouëde. The title (in partibus) of the bailiff of Negrepont, is common to the languages of Castile and Arragon: so that there are actually near 500 commandries in the order, belides the priories and bailiwicks. The commandries, and allthe clates of the order, in what country foever they live, are the property of the body of the order. Formerly they were let out to receivers and fecular farmers, who paid the rent of their leases to the common treasury: but as the city of Jerusalem, and afterwards the isle of Rhodes, lay at a great distance, these secular farmers took advantage of it, and proved very unfaithful, for which reason the management of these estates were afterwards entrusted to the grand priors in their several districts. This was at first no more than a trust and a bare administration; but they soon began to consider it as their property, and under one pretence or other, and fometimes without any at all, they confumed all revenues of the order. This male-administration obliged the general chapters, and, in their default, the council'to have recourse to a new expedient : they appointed a knight of known probity and difinterestedness to superintend over each particular mannour or portion of estate which the order had in the same canton or district. But they held this administration from the council only (durante beneplacito.) The order likeways fometimes required him to take care of the education of some young knights probationers, and there was always.

ways a brother chaplain to fay mass in this little community. They were forbidden going beyond the limits of their house, without leave first obtained from the knight who was the superior of it; and such as. were found to transgress were arrested and put in prifon. This superior, in antient writings, was called Preceptor, and afterwards commander; a name which imported no more than that the education of these, young knights, and the management of the possessions of the order were recommended to his care. He was impowered to take out of these revenues a portion fufficient for the subfisting of his community, and assisting the poor of his diffrict; and he was obliged to fend to the common treasury a certain sum yearly, which was always proportioned to the revenue of the commandry. This quit-rent was called a Responsion, the use of which is continued to this day; general chapters have a right of augmenting these responsions in times of war, and according to the wants and occasions of the order. I cannot say whether these little communities above mentioned were suppressed in order for the drawing off more confiderable responsions from the commandries, or whether a spirit of division arising among them, they dwindled away of themselves. That which appears more certain is, that they left the administration of a commandry to a single knight, whom they fometimes required to pay certain pentions, which served in lieu of the sustenance he was obliged to fornish to those knights who dwelt with him. At last, to obviate all caballing, and pursuit of employments, which might have very fatal confequences in a military body, they refolved to confide the administration of thele commandries to the knights, according to their seniority; but in order to keep them still in that just dependence which they owed their superiors, they entrusted them with the commandries, on the foot only of a bare administration, for a certain time limited by the council, (ad decem annos, et amplins, ad beneplacitum nostrum;) as the commissions issued out of the chancery of Malta for this purpose expressly declare;

by which it is evident that these administrations might.

be taken away.

EXPRESSIONS in such positive and explicit terms. prove undeniably that commandries are no absolute possessions or benefices, but meer concessions for whichthe administrator was accountable to the public treasury of the order, and liable to be turned out in case either of male-administration, or of irregularity in his life and conversation. The statutes (de prohibitionibus & pænis) fay express y, that if a knight be justly suspected of entertaining a loofe commerce with a woman, and continues it after having been admonished of it, he shall be immediately ejected from his commandry, and all other possessions of the order, and that without the least formality of trial or profecution. The same penalty is denounced in this statute against duellers, usurers, all. those who forfwear themselves, and against all such receivers of the order as were guilty of any prevarication in their accounts. "Statim, non expectata alia-" sententia, commendis, membris, & pensionibus pri-" vati censeantur, & fint."

Bu T withal, from the fame foirit of regularity and justice, if a commander has given no scandal to any one in his commandry; if he, like a good father of a family, has taken care of the estate entrusted to his administration; if he has been exact in paying the responfions that are to be remitted into the common treasury: if he has taken all due care of, and rebuilt the churches. and buildings that depended on his commandry; if he has made an exact terrar, i. e. given a just court-roll; of all the lands that hold under his fiefs, in the terms preferibed by the statutes : in fine, if, agreeable to the spirit of his order and his own obligations, he has taken care of the poor; the order, like a good mother, takes care to reward his exactitude; and after five. years continuance in such an administration, if any more confiderable commandry falls vacant, allows him to (emeutir or) have his option of it in his turn, according to his feniority target cale as for problem mulis

But he is first of all, after having been sive years in possession of his first commandry, to get his language to appoint commissioners to take an account of the good order in which they have found the buildings and the lands, and to draw it up in an instrument in form: this is called making his Improvements; and if this verbal process be received and approved at Malta, the commander may be advanced to a richer commandry. 'Tis to this wise precaution that the order is indebted for the preservation of its estates and buildings: every commander, in hopes of acquiring a greater estate, taking the utmost care of that which is entrusted to his administration.

The knights, besides the commandries, may arrive at the great dignities of the order, according to their seniority and merit. I have already spoke of the grand priors, who are the superiors of all the religious that reside within their priories. They are directed to have a watchful eye over their conduct, and to see that the possessions of the order be justly managed; they preside in provincial chapters, and in their absence are to name a lieutenant, who, in that capacity, takes place

of all the knights of the petty cross.

THERE are three kinds of bailiffs in the order, viz. the conventual, the capitulary, and the bailiffs by courtefy and "ad honores." The conventual bailiffs are fo called, because they are bound to reside in the convent. They are chosen by the languages, and are dikeways their chiefs, and pilliers of the inns. They are the first knights after the grand master: and though this dignity generally "s'emeutisse," or passes by option according to seniority, they yet are not so absolutely tied up to this rule, but the languages and the council may take a liberty of chusing any person whom they think most deserving.

As the language of Provence is the first of the order, it enjoys the first dignity in it, which is that of great commander. This conventual bailiff is, by his post, president of the public treasury, and the court of exchequer.

[.] Great commander

exchequer. He has likeways the supreme direction of the magazines, the arfenal, and the artillery; he names their officers, with the good liking of the grand master and council, and he takes them out of what language he pleases. His authority extends even to the church of St. John, feveral officers of which he names: he has the same right in the infirmary, and chuses the petty commander, whole office is to affift in vifiting the medicines of the holpital.

THE dignity of marshal s is the second of the order. and is annexed to the language of Auvergne, of which he is the chief and the pillier. In military affairs he commands all the religious, except the grand croffes. their lieutenants, and the chaplains. In time of war he gives the great standard of the order to any knight whom he thinks most worthy of it : he has a right of naming the first equerry; and when he is at sea, he commands the general of the gallies, and even the high admiral. a water A eve out the

THE care of the poor and fick being the great defign of the institution of the order, and the basis as it were of their profession, the treasury maintains an hofpital at Malta, the charge of which amounts to 50,000 crowns per annum. This hospital is under the jurisdiction of the great hospitaller, who is the third conventual bailiff, and the chief and pillier of the language of France. He nominates the overfeer of the infirmary, who is always to be a knight of justice, the prior of the infirmary, and two scribes, all officers of but two years continuance, and presents them to the council for their approbation: but for all other employments about the hospital, he disposes of them by his fole authority.

The admiral is chief of the language of Italy : in the marshal's absence, and at sea he commands the soldiers as well as the feamen; he names the inspector and the scribe of the arsenal; and whenever he deand and design of the content of the content mands of

· Crest coton ander.

Great marshal.

polly profilers of the roblin tresions, and the constitution Great hospitaller.

[&]amp; High admiral.

mands the generalship of the gallies, the grand master is obliged to propole it to the council, who either ad-

mit or refuse him as they see proper.

BEFORE England, Scotland and Ireland had feparated from the church of Rome, and embraced the protestant doctrines, the turcopoliera was the chief of that language. He, in that quality, had the command of the cavalry and the marine guards. Turcopole was a word used antiently in the Levant, and fignified a light horse, or kind of dragoon. As this dignity was abolished upon the seizure of the estates of the order in those isles, part of the functions of the turcopolier have been given to the grand master's seneschal.

THE grand bailiff is chief of the language of Germany. His jurisdiction extends itself over the fortifications of the old city, the antient capital of the island. He hath the same authority over the castle of Goza: the grand bailiffs having, during the time that the order had the fovereignty of Rhodes, enjoyed the like post with regard to the castle of St. Peter in Caria, as

may be feen in the history.

THE dignity of chancellore is annexed to the pillier of Castile, Leon and Portugal. The chancellor prefeats the vice-chancellor to the council. He is obliged to be present when any bulls are sealed with the ordinary feal, and fign the originals himfelf. "Tis expressly required by the 35 chapter de bajulis, that he be able to write and read.

BEST DES these conventual bailiffs, who are the chiefs and pilliers of the order, they have admitted the hithop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John. in the same quality; 4 these dignities are common to all the languages, and the prelates who enjoy them get over the default with respect to birth, " a defectu natalium," though they are chose out of the body of chaplains, who, by their rank, are excluded from all the dignities of the order.

VOL. V.

The turcopolier:

The turcopolier:
The high chancellor.

Bifter a felt and balliff. Bishop of Malta, and prior of the church.

THE emperor Charles V. in his deed of conveyance of the isles of Malta and Goza to the orMarch 24th der, reserved to himself, and his succession.

1530. fors in the kingdom of Sicily, the advowson of the bishoprick: and it was a-

greed, that in case of a vacancy of the see, the order should be obliged to present to him and his successors kings of Sicily, three religious in priests orders, one of which was to be born in Sicily, and that these princes should have the liberty of chusing any one of the

three whom they should best approve.

The prior of the church of St. John is deemed the prelate and ordinary of all the religious: he likeways officiates pontifically in his own church, and in all those of Malta, which are served by the chaplains of the order, and preceeds the bishop there. When this dignity becomes vacant, the council allow the chaplains to meet and confer about the choice of his successor. They even go so far as to vote for one: this being done, they carry the scrutiny to the council, who, without any regard to such as had the greatest number of voices in the meeting of the chaplains, determine, by their own votes, who shall succeed to this dignity, which gives the prior, in the same manner as the bisshop, the first place in the chapters and councils, in quality of conventual bailists.

Or these seven conventual bailiss, sour at least ought always to be residents in the convent; nor can any one of them be absent without leave from a sull council. To obtain which, they must have at least two thirds of votes; and, in their absence, the languages, who cannot be without their heads, name immediately lieutenants to supply their places. When one of these pilliers is general of the gallies, and goes to sea, his language, notwithstanding his being absent for the service of the order, names in like manner his lieutenant, whose authority ceases as soon as ever the general

ral returns into the harbour.

ALTHOUGH the capitulary bailiffs are not, like the conventual ones, obliged to an actual relidence in the convent, yet there is no holding a general chapter with-

out these great crosses, or their lieutenants. They are likeways obliged to affift at all provincial chapters, or at least to fend a knight thither to represent them. This second kind of bailiffs are not capable of being made conventual bailiffs, because the one are to relide in the convent, and the others in the priory, where there bailiwick lies. Of all these capitulary bailiss, there was not any one, the bailiff of Brandenburgh excepted, who, like the grand priors, had any commanders under his jurisdiction. This bailiwick had formerly 13 that depended on it : but fince its falling into the hands of the protestants, fix of these commandries have been suppressed by the Lutherans. There are however still seven left, whose titles and revenues are preserved; but they are in the hands of the protestants. These Lutheran commanders however wear the crofs, and assume the name of knights; they likeways chuse their own bailiff, who names to the commandries. Several of these pretended commanders have belought the grand masters to suffer them to be received at Malta, and make their caravans on board the gallies of the order: but the difference in worship was an invincible obstacle to their admission into a catholic fociety. Some, when they could not obtain leave to fight under the banner of the order, have, from a principle of conscience, gone to make their caravans in Hungary against the Turks, at the time when the country was the feat of war. 'Tis likeways faid, that out of the same motive, they have sometimes sent considerable sums to Malta by way of responsions; but no regard was ever had to these seeming acts of submission, and attachment to the body of the order; and the title of bailiff of Brandenburg is emeuti, or goes by option and seniority in the language of Germany, in the fame manner as a great many other capitulary bailiwicks in the other languages of the order, notwith-Randing the estates and revenues are actually possessed by the infidels or protestants. All these dignities were formerly common to all the languages in general, without any diffinction, and lasted but from one general chapter

chapter to the next; the chapter disposing of them to persons of the greatest merit. But since the end of the fourteenth century, they have been conferred on the languages only to which they were annexed. The knights, who were invested with them, wear upon their breast a great octangular cross of white linnen cloth, and take place of the knights of the little cross, though the latter should chance to be their seniors.

THE general chapters sometimes granted this honourable distinction to such private knights as had distinguished themselves by their valour against the infidels, and done any confiderable fervices to the order ! they were stiled bailiffs by courtely. When there was no general chapter fitting, the grand mafter and the council named these bailiffs, "ad honores," and exercifed this power for a long while: but as they were continually teazed with recommendations from christian monarchs in favour of knights who indeed were born their subjects, but were not thought the most deferving in the order, the grand mafter and council, to get rid of these importunities, thought it best to give up their right. They fancied that they, by this wife precaution, should put a stop to the ambition of the knights; but that warm and restless passion put them upon other expedients; they employed the same kind of recommendation to the popes, who, justly considering themselves as the first superiors of all the religious orders, inpplied the default and absence of a general chapter by their own authority. 'Tis true indeed, that the private knights or commanders, who thus get themselves made bailiffs by courtely by the pope's briefs, do not acquire any particular privilege with regard to other promotions; for when any vacant commandries or dignities are to be disposed of, they have no right of preceding private knights who are their feniors: fo that all they get by the recommendation of the princes who interpole in their behalf, is no more than the privilege of wearing the great cross, the right of fitting in the chapter and the council when they are at Malta, and the taking place of knights who are their feniors. in fome affemblies, and days of ceremony: most of them empty honours, and that have nothing fundantial in them.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the general chapter, and different councils of the order.

THE order of Malta, as it is now stilled, is a noble republic, partly resembling that of Venice in its government, which has more of an aristocracy than of any other form. The grand master, like another doge, presideth at the head; but the supreme authority is vested in the general chapter, a tribunal established ever since the foundation of the order for the determining of their warlike preparations, and the redressing public and private grievances: they treat therein of all affairs, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military; they repeal and reform old statutes, when the observance of them is found inconvenient, and they make new ones, which subsist without appeal till the next chapter.

In ancient times thele famous affemblies were held regularly every five years: fometimes, if the exigence of affairs demanded it, they called them every three years; but in process of time they came to meet only every ten years, and now there has not one been held for near an hundred years, to the great prejudice of their regular and military discipline. But as it may happen, which indeed were highly to be wished, that the zeal of the knights, and the wisdom and prudence of the grand masters, may revive the usage of them, we think it not improper to specify in this place what persons these great assemblies were composed of, and the form that was observed in them; and that particularly, because the very same dignities, in default of a general chapter, give them a right of fitting in the councils.

WHEN all the chaplains were arrived from the feveral provinces of Christendom in the head convent of the

order, whether at Jerusalem, Rhodes, or Malta, the grand mafter, on the day fixed for opening the chapter, after hearing a mass of the Holy Ghost, entered the hall appointed for the affembly; when he took his place under a canopy, upon a throne raised three steps from the ground, and the members of the chapter, who were dignitaries, to the number of 34, placed themselves on the two sides in the following order, viz.

I. The bishop.

3. The great commander.

5. The hospitaller.
7. The great conservator.

2. The great chancellor.

11. The grand prior of Auvergue.

13. The grand prior of Aquitaine.

15. The grand prior of Toulouse

17. The grand prior of - Lombardy.

19. The grand prior of

21. The grand prior of Mellina.

23. The caftellan of Emposta, or the grand prior of Arragon.

25. The grand prior of England.

27. The grand prior of Germany.

29. The grand prior of Bohemia.

31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia,

15010

2. The prior of the church.

4. The marshal.

6. The admiral.

8. The grand bailiff.

10. The grand prior of St.

12. The grand prior of France.

14. The grand prior of Champagne.

16. The grand prior of Rome.

18. The grand prior of Venice.

20. The grand prior of Barletto.

22. The grand prior of Capua.

24. The grand prior of Chrato or Portugal.

26. The grand prior of Navarre.

28. The grand prior of Ireland.

30. The grand prior of Hungary.

32. The grand prior of Catalonia.

33. The

pont.

35. The bailiff of Venu-

37. The bailiff of Major-

39. The bailiff of Lyons.

41. The bailiff of Brandenburg.

43. The bailiff of Lora.

45. The bailiff of Lango and Leza.

47. The bailiff of Cremo- 48. The great treasurer.

49. The bailiff of Neuvil- 50. The bailiff of Acre. · las.

cella.

53. The bailiff of Carlo-

33. The bailiff of Negre- 34. The bailiff of the Mo-

36. The bailiff of St. Stephens.

28. The bailiff of St. John of Naples.

40. The bailiff of Manolque.

42. The bailiff of Capfa.

44. The bailiff of Aquila.

46. The bailiff of St. Sepulchre.

51. The bailiff of la Roc. 52. The bailiff of Armenia.

> 54. The bailiff of St. Sebastian.

THE fecond day of the affembly of the chapter, the members chufe, by plurality of voices, three commanders of three different languages or nations, to examine the proxies of such as represent the languages and priories, or are deputed by the priors and bailiffs that are absent. When their powers have been examined and found good, they are admitted to give their votes; but if they are not drawn in due form, they are excluded the affembly. When the number of the membere are fettled, every one of them in his turn, according to his own rank, and that of his language, prefents a purse with five pieces of money, as a mark of his perfect renunciation of all property. The marshal of the order, from the same principle, lays down the great standard, as do likeways the great officers the marks of their respective dignities, which they do not refume till after a new grant from the chapter is first obtained. This custom has been practifed from time immeimmemorial in the order, and cannot be too highly efleemed, provided it be not degenerated into mere ce-

remony.

They appoint at the same time three commissioners of three different nations to receive petitions, which are usually presented during the three sirst days, and afterwards are either dispatched or rejected by the general chapter: but as the members that compose it are very numerous, and by that means it would take up too much time to examine every particular affair, they therefore refer the consideration and decision of them to a committee of sixteen of their members who are all commanders.

THE seven languages chuse each of them two by a plurality of voices, and the chapter chuse two more to represent the language of England. These sixteen commissioners being thus elected take an oath before the grand master, who, with the rest of the members of the chapter, make a reciprocal promise upon oath to accept and ratify all that shall be resolved on and deter-

mined by the fixteen.

THE committee withdraws to consider of the matters represented in these petitions to the chapter. But for fear lest these fixteen commanders should not be acquainted with the true interests of the order, and perhaps lest they should come to resolutions contrary to those of the grand master, his procurator, the vice-chancellor, and the secretary of the treasury are admitted into this particular assembly, but without any right of voting. The fixteen alone regulate, ordain, and judge absolutely, and without appeal, all matters which the chapter refers to their determination: and as these great assemblies are to continue sitting above a fortnight, if there happen to be any affairs lest, which they had not time to terminate, they refer them to a new committee, which is called the council of reservations.

BESIDES this provisional and transient council, there are always, in default of a general chapter, four standing councils at Malta, viz. the ordinary, the complete,

the fecret, and the criminal councils.

The ordinary council is composed of the grand master, the conventual bailiss, all the great crosses that are at Malta, the procurators of the languages and the most antient knight for that of England. In this council they decide all disputes that arise about receptions, pensions, commandries, dignities, and other matters

relating to bulls granted by the order.

The complete council differs from the ordinary council, only by the addition of two ancient knights for each language, who before they can have a feat in it must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals lie to this complete council from the sentences of the ordinary, as well as of the criminal council. 'Tis not long since they introduced a custom of appealing to Rome, whither, in default of a general chapter all affairs are insensibly carried. From the court of Rome come all dispensations, knights of minority, knights by courtesy, bailists and great crosses by courtesy: and there is just reason to apprehend, that their lavish bestowing courteses on particular persons will at length ruin the whole body of the order.

In the secret council, assairs of state, and all sudden and extraordinary cases that require an immediate consideration, are treated. When any weighty complaint is made against a knight or any other religious, 'tis laid before, and debated in the criminal council. The grand master or his lieutenant presides in all these councils, and he only has a right of proposing any matter for them to debate on. When they come to vote in any case, he has two ballots, and when the voices are equal, 'tis his that weighs down the scale.

THERE is still another council, which is commonly called the chamber of the treasury, of which the great commander, chief of the language of Provence by virtue of his office, is president. To defray the immense expenses which the order is obliged to be at, they raise funds out of the responsions due from the priories, bailywicks and commandries, and from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and vacancies. A mortuary is the revenue of a commandry for the remaining part

of the year, from the day of the commander's decease to the first of May next ensuing, and they call the vacancy the revenue of the whole year, which begins at the said first of May, and ends on the same day of the year following. The prizes which they take from the insidels, are also reckoned among the casual revenues of the order. All these several funds are under the direction of the chamber of the treasury, which cannot meet without the great commander or his lieutenant: and if the great commander or his lieutenant are not satisfied with the debates in this court, they need only withdraw out of the chamber, and the session is immediately dissolved.

The great commander has two procurators of the treasury for his collegues, who were always chose out of the great crosses. The grand master and council change them every two years, but not both at once, that there may be always one left who is acquainted with the affairs and interests of the order. The grand master, in consideration of the interest he has in the just and exact administration of the revenues of the order, has a procurator in this chamber, who has a right of voting in it; and whenever he names him, he notifies

This procurator, on account of the dignity of the person he represents, has his place in this council before the conventual conservator and the auditor of accompts. The chamber has a power of giving assignments to the value of 500 crowns, but when a warrant is to be issued for a more considerable sum, it must be laid before the council, who order it to be passed in the chancery.

The high treasurer, or his lieutenant, hath a right of assisting at the accompts which are given to the common treasury. Antiently the treasurer was reckoned among the conventual bailists, and had the chest of the order in his keeping. But this function having been since assigned to the conventual conservator, and the bailiwick annexed to the language of Germany, the post of high treasurer is at present no more than a capitulary

capitulary bailiwick, appropriated to the language of

EACH language names every two years a knight to be auditor of the accompts; but they must be confirmed by the ordinary council, where they take the oath for their office. They take their places according to the rank of the languages they represent: their business is to go to the chamber as often as they are summoned to be present, when accompts are given in by the receivers, and all such persons as are concerned in the administration of the possessions of the order.

In treating of the conventual bailiffs we had occasion to speak of the great conservator. Antiently his office continued from one general chapter to another; but since the time that those assemblies appeared to be suppressed, the complete council changes him every three years. He is taken out of all the languages by turns: his functions cease at the assembly of a general chapter, and are suspended during the vacancy of the mastership.

THE post of secretary of the treasury is an office in which a vast deal of business is transacted. 'Tis he who makes up and balances the accompts in the presence of the two auditors. He gives out and pays all bills of exchange; and as all the affairs of the treasury pass through his hands, they scarce ever change him but for very

urgent reasons.

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BEFORE the conventual and capitulary dignities were divided amongst the languages, the general chapters disposed of them in favour of persons of the greatest merit in the order, without regarding what nation they were of. But ever since the year 1466, they have been appropriated to particular languages: and the pilliers or conventual bailiss abovementioned, when they are not filled up, have a right of demanding the first dignities that become vacant: thus in the language of Provence, the great commander may demand either the grand priory of St. Giles, or the grand priory of Toulouse, or the bailiwick of Manosque. In the language,

guage of Auvergne, the great marshal has a right to the grand priory of that name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons: but when he is once possessed of one of these dignities, he has no option with regard to any other. Notwithstanding that in the language of France, the commandries in its dependence are annexed to particular priories, nevertheless the high dignities appropriated to that language are common to all the knights of the three priories of the same language; fo that, independent from the priories, 'tis feniority alone that decides between the knights of the language of France, with respect to the grand priories of France, Aquitain and Champaign; of the bailiwick of the Morea, the refidence of which is fixed at Paris at St. John of Lateran; and of the post of treasurer, which is united to the priory of Corbeil.

In the language of Italy, the dignities and commandries are in common. In the language of Arragon, which is composed of the knights of the kingdom of Caralonia and of Navarre, if the great confervator is an Arragonian or Valentian, he has a right to the Castellany of Empolta, otherwise called the grand priory of Arar-

gon.

THE bailiwick of Majorca is common between the knights of Majorea and Catalonia: and the bailiwick of Capla is common to those of Arragon and Valencia; they remove from this bailiwick to the Castellany of

Empolta.

THE bailiwisk of Negrepont, which at prefent is "in partibus," and in the hands of the Turks, is annexed alternately to the languages of Arragon and Cafile: any one may relign it to take the inn, and they may likewife quit the inn by making their option of the me bailiwick.

THE dignity of grand bailiff is common between the knights of Germany, and those of the kingdom of Bohemia. It gives a right to the grand priory of Germany, s past of greater antiquity in the order, than that of rand bailiff. factorial templopulation in distributions to attende

THE chancellor may be made grand prior of Castile, who, when he is invested with that dignity, becomes a grandee of Spain. The grand priory of Crato is in Portugal; but the great chancellor cannot make it his option for fear of engaging in a dispute with the king of Portugal, who pretends that the advowson of that dignity

belongs to his crown.

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THE grand priory of Hungary might anciently have been challenged by the great commander, pillier of the language of Provence, and the same right was afterwards conveyed to the admiral, who is pillier of the language of Italy. But at present that dignity, by the abdication which the Italians made in 1603, is fallen to the language of Germany, and is common to the knights of that nation and those of Bohemia. Notwithstanding that the last emperors of Germany have recovered the best part of Hungary from the infidels, nevertheless the order has not been able to recover the possession of their priories and commandries in that kingdom, although cardinal Colonitz, an old knight of Malta took the utmost pains in that affair. The commandries of Dacia, depending on the grand priory of Hungary. are entirely loft.

ALTHOUGH the provinces of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, composed formerly the ancient Dacia, nevertheless, in the order of St. John, this name of Dacia, in the language of the middle age, was given to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. We have seen in the preceeding history, that the grand master Dieu-donné de Gozon wrote, during his administration, into these provinces, to oblige them to remit their responsions, and that in 1464, they sent wisitors thither to take care that the regular and mill-

tary discipline should be observed in those places.

ARTICLE V.

Of the offices and employments in the order.

The grand master has a right to chuse himself a lieutenant, who, when he has named him, notifies it to the council, but without having any need of their consent and approbation. He likewise names the senseshal of his houshold; and when the person who is invested with it has a brief from the pope, he enjoys his office for life.

The vice-chancellor presented by the great chancellor,
The secretary of the treasury named by the full countiller.
The master Equerry named by the great marshal.

The grand mafter names the following officers.

Le cavalerizze, or master of the horse.

The receiver of the grand mafter's revenues.

The master of the houshold.

The grand malter's procurator in the treasury.

The great chamberlain.

The deputy mafter of the houshold.

Le fous cavalerizze, or fift gentleman of the horfe.

The falconer.

The captain of the guards.

Three anditors.

The almoner and four chaplains.

Four chamberlains.

Four fecretaries for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

The secretary or intendant of the revenues of the principality.

The credencier or clerk of the kitchen.

The garde-manger, or keeper of the pantry.

The keeper of the wardrobe.

Coun-

Counsellors of the complete council.

Councilors of the complete council.
Fourteen counsellors taken out of named by the lan- the seven languages. Seven auditors of the accompts of proved by the council.
Two procurators of the treasury, great crosses, named by the grand master and approved by the coun- cil.
The conventual conservator who has been already mentioned when we treated of the conventual bailiffs.
Comptroller of the confervator, in the nomination of the grand master and council. Castellan of the castellany. This office is entered upon the first day of May, and continues for two years.
Two procurators of the prisoners, of the poor, of widows and orphans; the one a knight, and the other a priest, who is chaplain, or brother of obedience.
The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula, a great cross.
2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the same a knight. 3 commissioners of the poor beggars, great crosses.
2 ditto of the alms, I great cross, I knight.
2 ditto of the fick poor women, 2 protectors of the catechumens, and the new converts, 1 great cross, 1 knight.
3 commissioners of the redemption, 1 great cross, in the choice of the grand master, 2 2 knights. (a knight of the language
france, in the preientation of the great hof- pitaller.
The prior and sub-prior of the presented by the great infirmary, hospitaller, and ap-
The feribe, proved by the grand
The Armonier or press-keeper, master and council. U 2 prud'-

2 prud'hommes or comp-Z two l	knights named by the
trollers of the infirmary, 5 ed l	nd master, and approv-
4 commissaries of war 24 great	crosses of the four na- viz. France, Spain, and Germany.
4 ditto of the congregation of the gallies, 2 ditto for regulating the caravans,	e { 4 knights of the 4 nations.
4 ditto of the naval armaments,	5 3 great croffes and I knight.
A president and four commissioner of the congregation of the ship of the four nations,	s and 4 knights.
2 commissioners of the chest of the flags, 3 ditto of the novices of different nations.	1 knight.
2 ditto of the prizes, 2 ditto of the prison of the slaves,	2 knights.
The governor of the 5 aferving to prilon of the flaves, 2 tion of the 2 Commissioners of the mint, 2	prother in the nomina- he grand malter.
A dista of the control	knights of the four
	knights. I knight in the pre-
	fentation of the great
2 prud'hommes, or comptrollers of the stores,	
, 2 commissioners of the two houses,	2 knights,
Company of the Company	2 knights; but when there is any fuspicion
2 ditto of health,	of infection, they join 4 great croffes with them.
Interest of briefa	THE
THE TENE	

COTERNIERI	4.4.4.4.
The commander of the artillery,	
2 comptrollers of the artillery,	
2 commissaries of the soldiers,	} 2 knights, named by the grand master.
The fiscal, or attorney;	He is generally a bro- ther of obedience.
The deputy-master-equerry,	a ferving brother, named by the grand ma- fler, who notifies his nomination to the
The porter of la Valette,	council. I serving brother in the grand master's nomination.
The governor of the arlenal,	a knight in the nomi- nation of the great commander.
The comptroller of the arfenal	a knight in the pre- fentation of the ad- miral.
The vestry-keeper, The candle-keeper of the church	7 brother chaptains in
of St. John, The belfrey-keeper,	S the great command-
The general of the gallies,	He chuses the captain of the admiral-galley, and presents him to the council.
As many captains and mafters	4000 · 1

The reveditor or inspector of the gallies.

The commodore of the ships.

As many captains as there are thips, and feveral fubaltern officers.

The proveditor or overfeer of the ships.

The GOVERNORS.

Of Goza,
St. Angelo,
St. Elmo,
Ricasoli,
The Town,
The isle de la Sangle,
The captain of la Valette,
The seven captains of the hamlets
or villages of the country,
The captain of the grove, a serve-

ing brother,

The three judges of appeals,

Of criminal cases,

laws named by the council.

OUT OF THE CONVENT.

Three embassadors in ordinary of the order.

increase and the M. the bailiff baron ? of Schaden em-At Rome. baffador to the pope M. the bailiff of Diestrincten em -At Vienna. baffador to the emperor The bailiff de Mefmes embaffador SAt Paris. to the king of France The bailiff d'Avila embaffador to At Madrid. the king of Spain

SET

The embaffadors of France and Spainare always great croffes. The embaffador of Rome is often a little crofs; their employment lafts for three years, but it is frequently continued to them longer.

In all the priories of the order there are receivers, whom the treasury presents to the council: their office is granted them for three years, but they sometimes continue them, and they may be great crosses.

THERE

The

THERE are likewise in all the priories several procurators in the presentation of the treasury, whose employments also last for three years.

THE money is coined with the impress and arms of

the reigning grand mafter.

THE grand master don Raimond Perellos de Rocaful was the first that ever had guards; the company consists of 150 men, and they mount the guard at the palace, and the two gates of the city of la Valette.

THE grand master is to be deemed the first patron general of all those offices abovementioned, for which we have not assigned any particular patron: but he is obliged to propose his nomination to the council, who

have a power either to allow or reject it.

SUCH are the dignities and offices of this order, the first of which is that of the grand master, the highest honour to which a knight of justice can arrive; and for the better understanding thereof, we shall now explain the form observed in his election, his titles, his rights, his prerogatives, and from whence his forces and revenues arise.

ARTICLE VI.

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. Of the election of the grand master.

A S foon as the grand master is dead, the council breaks his feal: and, that the order may not be left without an head, they chuse a lieutenant of the mastership, who, in concert with the council, presides in the administration, but never makes any grant, or offer to touch the revenue of the grand mastership.

THE second day they lay the corps of the deceased in state in the great hall of the palace on a catafalco, or scaffold, with a complete suit of armour on his right hand, lying upon a table covered with a carpet of black cloth. They bury him in the evening with the proper solemnities; the function of the conventual conservator is suspended during the vacancy of the mastership.

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The same day they appoint three knights of different nations, to receive what is due to the treasury from the religious that pretend to give their votes in the election. They then draw up a lift of all who have a right to vote in it, and fix it up publicly at the door of the church of St. John: they likewise fix up the names of all such as lose their right of voting for that time, by their being in debt to the treasury.

In the election of the doge of Venice, all the nobles above 20 years of age meet in the palace of St. Mark, and put as many balls into an urn as there are gentlemen prefent, thirty of which are gile. The gentlemen to whose lot they fall put, in presence of all the state, nine of the gilded ones amongst 24 white ones, and the nine gentlemen who happen to draw them elect forty others, all of different families, but who are allowed to name themselves in the number. These 40 are again by lot reduced to 12; those 12 elect 25; the first naming three, and the two others two each. These 25 drawing lots again like the former, are reduced to nine, who name 45, which is five each: the 45 cast lots again, and are reduced to 11, who at last elect 41, who are the final electors of the doge, when they are confirmed by the great council; for if they are not, they must begin anew till they come again to another 41.

A MAN, to entitle him to have a vote in the election of grand master, must have been received of justice into the order; must be at least 18 years of age; must have resided three years in the convent, have made three caravans, and not owe at most above ten crowns to the public treasury. Notwithstanding that the brother chaplains, provided they are priests, and the serving brothers of arms are allowed to give their votes in the several languages into which they have been admitted, they yet have no manner of share in the government afterwards. Such of the Maltese as have been received into any of the languages, by virtue of a particular dispensation of the popes, are not allowed to give

their

their votes in the election, much less to be competitors for it; the reason of which general exclusion is in all probability to prevent any temptation which a Maltese grand master might possibly be under of perpetuating the sovereignty of Malta among his own countrymen.

THE third day after the grand master's decease is always fixed for the proceeding to the election of his fucceffor, and they never defer a choice of fuch importance to a longer time, not only to stop all canvassings and cabals, but also to prevent certain pretensions of the court of Rome, where it is a maxim, that, fo long as the vacancy is not filled up, the pope has a right of prevention to nominate the grand mafter; fo that the third day all the convent affemble together after having heard a mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. · John. The feven languages which compose the order retire every one into their respective chapels, except that which the lieutenant of the mastership is of, which takes its place in the nave of the church. These seven languages are each of them to chuse out of their respective knights, three electors, to whom they give up all the right of election: these make in all one and twenty electors. as the revieweed word entitle

The religious being shut up in their chapel write in their turns, and according to their seniority, the name of the knight of their language whom they chuse to be the first of the three electors they are to name. And, in order to ascertain their election, they are obliged to put their own name at the bottom of their ticket, and then seal it with the seal of the language.

When all the voters of a language have given their votes in this manner, the procurators of the language take all the billets, and, counting them over in the prefence of all the language, they examine whether their number agrees exactly with that of the votes; for if it were to differ they would burn them immediately, and vote afresh till the number of tickets tallied exactly with the number of religious who have a right to give their votes.

maillui

But if every thing appears in due order, the procurators, with the most ancient of the language, open the tickets on the fide on which the name of the knight is written, whom they chuse for their first elector: after which they count the votes given in favour of the other knights who were competitors in the fame election, and if none of them have a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, they must begin to vote again afresh, till such time as one kuight has a clear quarter part of the votes; and then he takes the oath required by the statutes before the lieutenant of the ma-Rership, and goes into the conclave : after this all the voters begin to ballot again for chuing the two other electors, who, like the first, carry it by plurality of voices; but the three electors are generally named at the very first balloting. All of florid ylobs and to state a next

By a clear quarter part of the votes in a language is meant a number which cannot be found four times among those who compose the language: so the clear quarter part of nine is three, of thirteen four, of seventeen sive, &c. If it happens that there is an equality of votes as well as a clear quarter part, the senior carries it, and the three persons elected go up to the Conclave where they themselves act as electors.

EVERY language chuses afterwards another knight to represent England by plurality of voices, and out of these sevent knights three are chose, by plurality of votes, to enter the Conclave, and represent the language of England. These three new electors must be chose out of three different nations. It must be observed, that if the lieutenant of the mastership should be named for one of the three electors whom his language is to chuse, the council of state would immediately put another in his place, in order that the government might not be left a moment without a chief and a superior.

WHEN the three electors of each language are affembled in the Concluse to the number of twenty one, and are joined by the three electors for the language of England, making in all four and twenty knights of

justice

justice or great crosses, though indeed the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church, may be of the number, their dignites being a dispensation for their default of birth. These four and twenty, taking an oath before the lieutenant of the mastership, afterwards chuse the president of the election, whose nomination abolishes the office of lieutenant of the mastership. After this they proceed to the choice of the tirumvirate, i. e. of a knight, a chaplain, who is a priest and a ferving brother, to whom the first 24 electors deliver up the power of electing, when they retire out of the Conclave.

THIS triumvirate having taken their oaths retire into the chamber of the Conclave, and proceed among themselves to the choice, of a fourth elector: when this fourth is joined with them, these four new electors chuse a fifth, and so on till they have chose to the number of thirteen, which with the three first, who were named by the 24, make up the number of I belectors, two for every language, including that of England. In the nomination of the first eight, including the triumvirate in the number, they have no regard to the pre-eminence of the languages; but in the nomination of the other half, they always observe the rank which the languages have in respect of one another; so the fixth of this second half, which is the 14th in the order of the 16, is that taken out of any language they please to represent England.

Is the triumvirate do not in an hour's time agree in the election of the fourth elector abovementioned, they are each of them obliged to name one, and the 24 first electors ballot for them in the vestry, where they make their scrutiny on this occasion; and he of the three named by the triumvirate, who has the most votes among the 24, carries it; but if they all chance to have an equal number of voices, the senior of the three would be preserved. The 13, according as they are called, take each the usual oath, before the presentent of the election, before they join the triumvirate; and when they are all together, they ballot among

themselves for one or more persons; he who has a majority of votes is made grand master. In case of an equal division among the 16 electors, the vote of the knight of the election carries it; and turns the scale. As odd as this form of election may seem, the knights had reason enough to establish it in that manner; for these different changes of elector break all the measures private men might take; and when all depends upon the choice of persons who owe their power to the favour of fortune, all artifices and intrigues prove ineffectual: besides, this is a means in this noble republic to please almost every particular person in it, by the share which they slatter themselves they have had in the elec-

tion of the grand mafter.

THE balloting being over, the triumvirate leave the thirteen who had been concerned with them in the election, and, going up to the rails of the gallery which is over the great gate, the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right, and the serving brother on his left, demands three times of the religious affembled in the church, if they are disposed to ratify the election they have just made of a grand master; and when all the affembly has answered that they approve their choice, the knight of the election proclaims him aloud, and the new grand master, if he is present, goes and feats himself under the canopy. He first takes the oath which is administred to him by the prior of the church, and after Te Deum has been fung by way of thanksgiving, he receives the homage of all the religious, and is carried from thence in triumph to the pa-The day of the election, the treasury, in order lace. to fave the house of the mastership from being plundered, distribute three crowns to each religious, both novices as well as those who are professed. And a day or two after the election, the full or complete council puts the new grand mafter in possession of the sovereignty of the illes of Malta and Goza; to that by his new dignity, he reunites in his person a military and regular superiority over all the religious of his order, and at the same time a sovereignty and all manner of royal rights_

rights over the laity who are his subjects. But how lawful foever this fovereign authority may be, it has, nevertheless, ever fince the settling of the inquisition in Malta, been incroached upon by the pretentions of the inquifitors. Formerly the supreme council of the order had the fole cognizance of every thing relating to faith and religion. But during the mastership of the grand master de la Cassiere, the bishops Cubellet and Royas, having successively got orders from Rome, that the cognizance thereof should be referred to them, the order being incensed at these proceedings, by way of revenge applied to pope Gregory XIII. and prevailed with him to fend an inquisitor to Malta to take away that jurisdiction from the bishop. 'Tis true indeed that the council of the order, for the preservation of their authority, infifted with his holiness, that the officer of the court of Rome should not proceed in any case, but in concert with the grand mafter, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice chancellor of the order: fo that the authority of this tribunal was divided between the inquisitor and the principal officers of the order.

Bur this wife and prudent temperament did not subsilt long; for the inquisitors, from a kind of emulation fo common among them, took in other affeffors, in order to make themselves absolute masters in their tribunal, though still under pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy see; and not content with this step, they took another which is scarce to be parallelled: they created fo prodigious a number of what they call the Familiars of the holy office, that they have formed with this fet of people a new government as it were, and a body of subjects, who, by virtue of certain patents of the inquifition, pretend to exempt themselves from the fovereign authority of the order. These subjects of the order, who may very well be treated as rebels, make up two thirds of the inhabitants of the island; so that all who have either money or credit with the inquisitor, pretend that they, by virtue of his protection and patents, are not obliged to take arms upon the grand mafter's orders, to repulse the infidels,

Vol. V X when

when they make descents upon the island. The secre views of the inquifitors are in all probability thele; they suppose, that after they have robbed the grand malter of his natura subjects, they may afterwards reduce him by infentible degrees to the miterable condition of being their inferior. And in a memorial prefented by the language of France, to king Lewis the XIVth, of glorious memory, we see that the inquisitors of that time, forgetting the respect due to the character of a fovereign, had the boldness to pretend to oblige the grand master to stop his coach when they should meet him in the street with theirs. After this, nothing was wanting to complete the ambitious projects of the inquisitor, but to seize on the revenues annexed to the dignity of grand master, both those which arose from the principality of the islands, as well as those that belonged to him by virtue of the grand mafterfhip.

THE revenues of the principality confist in the rights of the admiralty, at the rate of ten per cent. upon all prizes, and comprehend likewise the customs, assessments, imposts, lands of the Demesse, farms, houses, gardens, duties on alienation and purchasing of lands.

fines and confications.

THE revenues of the mastership consist first of fix thousand crowns, which the treasury pays him every year for his table, two hundred crowns for keeping his palace and country-house in repair; a very scanty fum indeed with regard to his dignity, but which shews the frugality and temperance of the age when this regulation was made. Secondly, the grand malter has a year's revenue of all the commandries of courtely. which he disposes of every five years in each priory: and he has likewise in every priory the perpetual enjoyment of one commandry, which is called the Magistral Chamber, because it is annexed to the mastership. He may, in case he thinks proper, have them managed in his own name, or otherwise he may give them to any knights who have deferved well of the order by their fervices; and when the grand mafter beflowe

flows one of these magistral commandries upon a knight, he may, belides two annates, or the revenues of two years which he receives out of it, referve likewife a penfion to himself; but the knight who is gratified with this commandry, in confideration of these clogs upon it, is dispensed from paying any mortuary or vacancy to the order.

THE grand masters have frequently ships out a cruifing, and have themselves all the profits that arise from the prizes they take: they likewise, in conjunction with the council, give leave to fuch knights as are able, to fit out velfels against the Turks, and cruise with the master's flag; but as for traffic and merchandize, that kind of venal profit is forbid by the statutes; and besides, all commerce is odious to most of the languages, who would think that a gain of that nature would debale the nobility of their extraction.

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DISSERTATION

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Two cotemporary and original historians, who relate the same fact, but with circumstances so very different, that they entirely alter the nature of it.

CUCH as undertake to travel through the immense pace of history, often meet with rocks in their woad , which they can hardly keep from splitting on, without carrying the plummet always in their hand, and calling in the affiltance of criticilin, which a prudent writer should consult every moment, as a compais absolutely necessary to steer by in this kind of navigation. No body need be told that this art, like other sciences, is guided by principles and rules that are peculiar to it: The first that is proposed to us is, to advance no fact, as far as is possible, but upon the testimony of cotemporary and original historians: 'tis this testimony that engages the reader's confidence and eflablishes his assurance of facts. But if such antient authors, of equal authority, relate the same fact in a different manner, by what rule can a later writer be determined? What motive can fix his choice, and to which of the two historians shall he give the preference ?

This is the very difficulty I met with in that part of my seventh book, where I give an account of the manner in which prince Gem or Zizim, son to Mahomet II. was received in the isle of Rhodes by the grand master and the knights of St. John. To guide me in my relation of that fact, I consulted the cotemporary and original historians: I found two of them, who deserve that title indisputably, who yet contradict one another directly in the narration of the same fact. The

[.] See the 7th book of this hiftery, p. 85. Vol. III.

first is William Caoursin vice-chancellor of the order. and the other is William de Jaligni secretary to Peter de Bourbon, second of the name, seignior of Beaujeu, who to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, prefumptive heir of the crown, feized on the government, and under whose administration most of the affairs, of which his fecretary gives an account, were transacted. The whole affair between those two writers is to know. whether after the death of Mahomet II. prince Zizim his fon, then in quest of an asylum against the power of his brother Bajazet who was for putting him to death; whether, I say, this unfortunate prince applied to the grand malter of Rhodes, in order to obtain from him a retreat in his dominions, and a pals to come in and go out of them as he pleased; and whether this pass was sent him by a squadron of ships to serve him for an elcort, as Caoursin relates; or whether he did not throw himself into the port of Rhodes and expole himself to be made a prisoner of war by the knights, purely to avoid being taken by the gallies of the fultan his brother, which were purfuing him on all fides, as Jaligni informs us, who pretends, that the grand mafter and the knights feized on his perfon, " Hoping, fays he, to make their advantage of " him.

IF we follow Caoursin, Zizim was Bajazet's younger brother; but he says, the prince pretended to the crown, as being born in royalty, after the emperor Mahomet his father was in possession of the empire; whereas Bajazet, though the elder, was born in the reign of Amurath II. when Mahomet was but a private man. "Fateor, he makes Zizim say, fratrem prius" in lucem prodiisse; sed patre est genitus non rege. Jaligni on the contrary says expressly, that Zizim was the eldest. The vice-chancellor adds, that Zizim being deseated in two battles against his brother, and having in vain sollicited the soldan of Egypt for succours, and finding himself without troops, skulking up and down in the midst of his own territories and the rocks of mount Taurus, was forced to seek an asylum in the

X 2

of Rhodes; that he sent embassadors to the grand master to desire a pass from him, "Fidem publicam imsupport, said these embassadors to d'Aubusson, quâ
support tutus in vestram ditionem pateat aditus." The historian continuing his narration, says, that the grand master sent him this pass, with full liberty of coming in
and going out of his dominions, in the very form that
the embassadors desired.

WE have feen in the feventh book, that the grand mafter sent these ministers back with a strong squadron to convoy the prince to the ifle of Rhodes, " Firmatus " animo, says Caoursin, navim conscendit & Hiero-" folymorum equitum fidei se committit." He trusts himself, says the historian, to the faith of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Zuniga grand prior of Castile giving him his hand to help him aboard his ship, and addressing himself to him, spoke as follows: We receive you, fir, fays he to him, as our guest, and not as an enemy; " Te excipimus ut hospitem, non ut " hostem." This was afterwards confirmed to him by the grand mafter, who faid to him, when he accosted him, fince you are come into our territories as our friend and guest, it is fit we should render you all the offices of hospitality: " Tu ut hospes & amicus ac-" cedis, jura quidem hospitii ut præbeamus decens 46 eft."

But the treaty which the grand master afterwards made with sultan Bajazet soon contradicted a conduct that appeared at first so generous; for the knights agreed with the sultan, in consideration of a pension of sorty sive thousand ducats of gold; to keep Zizim in their power, and hinder him from disturbing the sultan his brother in the enjoyment and government of the empire, so long as on his side he did not invade their territories or those of the christian princes. Caoursin, and after him Pere Bouhours, to excuse the injustice and scandalousness of such a treaty, that was inconsistent with the pass which the grand master and the order had sent to prince Zizim, pretend that he engage.

1

[.] Hift, de Pierre d'Aubuffen.

ed, when he desired the pass, to guide himself entirely by the grand master's advice; that the pass was granted on this express condition; and that besides, Zizim had given a very ample letter of attorney to the grand master to treat with the Turks as he should see fitting; and it was, says Pere Bouhours, by virtue of this letter of attorney, that the grand master brought Zizim into

the treaty of peace.

As for what relates, add these two historians, to the forty or forty-five thousand ducats, which ill designing people make use of as an handle to asperse the order, it is certain that the money which they received from Bajazet was employed in Zizim's maintenance; and the grand master, far from making any advantage of it to himself, made an addition to it out of his own revenue; as may be easily imagined, if we consider the royal magnificence with which the Ottoman prince was always treated, to say nothing of the infinite expences necessary to be made on his account, both in sending and receiving embassadors.

But it may be urged, in answer to these two historians, that supposing, as they pretend, the Turkish prince had, in order to obtain the pass, submitted to be guided entirely by the grand master's advice and orders, yet this pretended submission and engagement could never have been stipulated to the prejudice of the prince's liberty, the sole end and principal motive of the pass; otherways the asking it on such a condition was to destroy it entirely. As to what is alledged relating to a letter of attorney that Zizim gave to the grand master, that reason seems to be altogether

as frivolous.

This prince, if they are to be credited, gave a letter of attorney to the grand mafter, to treat in his name with the grand seignior his brother; and the proxy makes use of this letter of attorney as a pretence, in concert with his enemy, to keep him in close imprisonment. As to the 45000 ducats of gold that Bajazet furnished for his brother's pension, I leave the reader to judge, whether a sum so considerable as that,

especi-

especially in 1485, was not enough for the maintenance of a prisoner and his guards. If any body would take the pains to make an estimate of this sum, with regard to what it would produce in our days, they will easily see whether there was any occasion for the grand master, as his two historians say, to make up out of his own revenue, what was wanting for the expences of the Turkish prince; or whether a pension so considerable, as that which the grand master remitted every year with great exactness to Venice, was not one of the motives that engaged the order not to part with so useful a prisoner. After having consulted Caoursin,

let us fee how faligni relates the same event.

OF all the facts related by these two historians, in which they contradict one another, I find but one of any great importance, or which, in my opinion, concerns the honour of the grand mafter and his order. and that is the pass which Caoursin pretends Zizim obtained before he entered into the port of Rhodes. For if he only offered himself there as a prisoner of war. which Jaligni afferts, there is no doubt but the order might dispose of their prisoner, transport him to France, treat with his brother about his pension, deliver him up, and confign him over a prisoner to the pope. There is nothing in all this that clashes with the ordinary rules of justice and equity. But if we only confider the facts as Caoursin states them, and that the Turkish prince, before he delivered himself up to the knights, did indeed take the precaution of a pass for his fecurity; how is it possible to vindicate the grand mafter and his order from a breach of promise, and a violation of the public faith which they engaged to that prince? Here lies the difficulty; which of the two historians shall we prefer? every thing seems to favour Caourin. This historian was not only cotemporary, but likeways actually at Rhodes when Zizim arrived there; he was a minister, and one of the principal officers of the order, and in all probability, as he was vice-chancellor, he was the very person that drew up and figned the pass : and what seems to determine Hiff

still more in his favour is, that this writer, who seems passionate for the interests of his order, and in all his works loses no occasion of celebrating their illustrious actions, does on this occasion ingenuously relate a fact that is not much for its honour. The vanquished party's owning a defeat, is an incontestible proof for the

glory of the vanquisher.

Bur that which might make us suspect Caoursin's account is, that this writer amplifies and exaggerates every thing he fays; and that on the foundation of a certain and undoubted fact, he almost builds a romance, or at least dresses up his relation of it in circumstances that very often have little or no probability in them. If he speaks of Mahomet, father to Zizim, he makes him a forcerer and a magician, though it is well enough known that that prince was a perfect atheist, and owned no divinity but fortune. When he speaks of the death of that sultan, he indeed damns him, and that with reason; but then, as if that were not enough, he precipitates him foul and body into bell, where he caused, says this fine historian, so abominable a stink, that the insupportable stench was a great addition to the torments of the damned. "Arbitramur enim, says he, tam scelestum, tam fætidum, " tam fævum cadaver terram intra fua viscera minime continuisse, et in damnatorum perpetuum chaos deje-" ciffe; cujus fætor iplum etiam infernam inficit, et " damnatorum supplicia graviora reddit.

This author's stile is full as extraordinary as the romantic air which he gives to his narrations. He has no notion but of one kind; his favourite figure is the direct stile; and, what is a little surprising, all the compliments that he bestows on Zizim are so many harangues; we meet with "prince Zizim's speech to "the soldan of Egypt, to the prince of Caramania, to "the grand master" in every page of his book, with the answers of all these princes in the same plain direct stile. Yet these are the places of his work where perhaps he has taken the most pains; these pieces are stuffed with learned citations and common places, but

unluckily they are feldom proper for the subject, much less suit the character of the persons into whose mouth he puts them. In fine, before this prince's arrival at Rhodes, he carries him as far as Jerusalem and Mecca, which journies indeed he actually made; but as if he had stood behind him all the time, he recites verbatim the several prayers which the Turkish prince offered up either to God or to Mahomet, the falle prophet of his law. I own these are no more than the faults of a bad orator, which may possibly be consistent with his veracity in the facts that he relates; but after all, the person that could allow himself to compose such frothy compliments, and fuch a number of harangues, might likeways take the liberty of composing Zizim's pass and magnificent entry into Rhodes, which he fancied would be a fine embellishment to his history.

Jaliani, on the contrary, appears more simple in his narration; his work contains only annals of the most important matters that passed under the reign of Charles VIII. He was secretary to a prince, who then governed France during the minority of the king his brother-in-law, and who even, after his majority, kept a great share in the government for some time: and if Zizim had come to Rhodes, and afterwards into France, only upon the assurance of a pass, how could they possibly be ignorant of it in that kingdom? Would not that prince himself have demanded the benefit of the public saith? Whereas, being no better than a prisoner of war, those who took him might very well detain him, dispose of him, or take a ransom for him, without acting contrary to equity and the law of na-

BESIDES Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, the terror of the Turks, the republic of Venice, and even the foldan of Egypt, all of them at that time enemies to Bajazet, having made great instances to the grand master to deliver up Zizim to them, in hopes that his bare appearing on the frontiers would give new life to his party, and might bring about some revolution in the empire; if this unfortunate prince had not been a prisoner

prisoner of the order, what pretence could the knights have had to keep him in prison contrary to the affurance of the pais, of their own interests, and of those of all Christendom ? Would not all their lovereigns have complained of fuch an infamous piece of injustice? Would there not have been some traces or other lest of these complaints in the historians of the time? In fine, another proof that the knights thought they had a right to dispole of the person and liberty of the Furkish prince, and that they considered his raniom as part of their own effects, is, that pope Innocent VIII. having demanded him of the order with a defign of putting him at the head of a league that was formed against the grand feignior, the grand mafter and fupreme council of the order tent vice-chancellor Caourlin to Kome, with other embassadors, to treat with the pontiff about it; and the knights, after various negotiations, would not consent to deliver up the Turkish prince to him, but upon condition, that by way of equivalent, he should unite to their order those of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus, with all the estates and revenues belonging to them. Neither was the private interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty; and in which it was expressly stipulated, that as soon as Zizim should be arrived at Rome, the pope should fend d'Aubusson a cardinal's hat. If Zizim had not been the priloner of those knights, would it not have been a dishonour to them to exact such vast recompences for violating the faith they had plighted to that prince ?

Bur this is to alledge the very thing contested as a proof, and is a begging of the question: all depends upon knowing which is most to be credited, Caoursin or Jaligni. The first allows that there was a pass, and even gives one to understand, and that plainly enough, that it had been violated. According to the other historian, Zizim was only a prisoner of war, who consequently had no pass sent him; which of the two historians are we to believe? In order to get rid of this uncertainty, and reconcile these authors in some measure, I fancied it would be best to divide my considence.

and give part of it to Caoursin, particularly with regard to the facts that passed at Rhodes, to which he was an eye witness, and reserve the other for Jaligni, and follow him in his account of that prince after his arrival in France. This expedient seemed to me at first reasonable enough, but when I came to apply it, I found my scruples springing up, and the same difficul-

ties occurring over again.

FOR if the Turkish prince, as Caoursin afferts, and which indeed is likely enough, did not enter Rhodes till he had a pass, and might enjoy entire liberty in that place; if it be true, as he advances, that this prince went into France of his own accord, the better to avoid the snares that his brother might lay for him so long as he should continue in the east, and in hopes of obtaining powerful fuccours from Louis XI. to fet him upon the throne of his fathers: Jaligni ought to have told us for what reason, and at what time and place he was arrested in France, whereas he does not mention the least syllable of it. If we believe Caourlin Zizim enjoyed a full liberty at Rhodes; we find him likeways free at his leaving Rhodes, and at the time of his embarkation : and if we follow Jaligni, the prince was a prisoner all the time he was in that kingdom. The French historian, speaking of his abode in France, calls him not so often by his own name, as by that of the prisoner. This transition from a state of liberty. to his being confined in a tower, ought it not to be taken notice of by this writer? Why has he not told us whether the poor prince was arrested in the vessel of the order that carried him from Rhodes into France? or whether he waited till he was landed in some part of that kingdom? in fine, whether they did not put him in prison till after the tower built for that purpose was finished! Is it allowable in an event of so rare and fingular a nature, to be either in the dark as to the principal circumstances of it, or to suppress them? The Rhodian, in my opinion, is more particular in this respect; and it is easy to be seen from his narration, that they made no open attempt upon Zizim's liberty, till

orders came from Rhodes to that purpole, pursuant to the treaty made between the grand feignior and the grand master. As the order, by that treaty, engaged itself, in consideration of a pension of forty-five thous fand ducate of gold, to keep the Turkish prince in . their power, they certainly thought it necessary to keep him in confinement, in order to prevent his escape: Twas in this treaty that they trafficked for the liberty of this unfortunate prince, and his imprisonment was the feal of the new alliance between the Turks and the Christians: but for fear of putting any biass upon the reader's judgment, we have thought proper to annex to this differtation an extract of the two historians, by which he will be enabled to make a judgment whether there ever was a pals granted, and whether such fafe conduct was violated by the grand mafter and the knights of Rhodes.

TEXTE DE JALIGNI.

E roy, dit Jaligni, étant encore à Paris ledit mois de Janvier, mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, il arriva per devers lui un ambaffadeur de l'empereur des Turcs, qui conduisoit un ambassadeur du Roy de Naples. Par cet ambassadeur, le Turc écrivoit au Roy des lettres de créance: la cause pourquoi le Turc écrivoit, et envoyoit son ambassadeur, étoit pourcequ'en France étoit son frere aîné, à qui appartenoit toute la seigneurie, et y avoit été amené il y avoit déjà quatre ou einq ans : car en l'an mil quatre cens quatrevingt et un, l'empereur des Turcs mourut, lequel délaissa à deux de ses enfans la plus grande seigneurie du monde, pourcequ'il possedoit deux empires, et onze royaumes, et tenoit sous son obélissance la Turquie, la Grece, et la plûpart de l'Afie. Après sa mort, pourceque son fils ainé étoit fort éloigné de Constantinople, où le Turc a coûtume de faire sa résidence, et qu'il étoit occupé en une guerre, son frere puiné durant cette . absence, s'assura des gens d'armes qui étoient au tour de VOL. V.

son pere, et de plus s'empara de toutes ses finances, et usurpa le titre de la seigneurie. L'aîné, d'autre part, scachant les nouvelles du décès de son pere, se mit en chemin par mer pour venir prendre possession de cet empire, comme seigneur naturel; mais en venant, il apprit que sondit frere s'étoit sais de tout ; et lui, étant encore sur mer, il rencontra des gallées en course, que son frere avoit envoyées pour le guetter et le prendre au passage; et fut tellement pressé d'icelles gallées, qu'il fut contraint de le mettre en fuite, et le sauver, pourcequ'il étoit bien assuré de sa mort s'il étoit pris. Il fut donc tellement poursuivi qu'il lui convint se jetter à refuge dedans le port de Rhodes; laquelle chose étant venue à la connoissance du grand maître et des chevaliers, incontinent ils se saistrent de sa personne, étant fort joyeux de l'avanture qui leur étoit advenue : et espérant d'en bien faire leur profit, ils donnerent bon et sûr ordre pour la garde de sa personne. Aussi-tôt que le frere qui usurpoit la Seigneurie, scut comme sondit frere étoit ainsi échappé, il en fut très-déplaisant; toutefois incontinent après, il envoya une grande et solemnelle ambassade devers le grand maître de Rhodes. pour pratiquer, s'il seroit possible, de ravoir son frere, ou à tout le moins d'être affuré qu'il ne lui pût nuire à l'avenir. Enfin il fut conclu entre eux que ledit frere jouissant, donneroit par chacun an une bonne et grande pension au grand maître de Rhodes. Et en outre, qu'il fourniroit autre grande somme d'argent pour la dépense de son frere spolié, et pour sa garde : outre quoi alliance fut faite, et toute sûreté baillée à ceux de Rhodes de leurs terres et seigneuries. Or combien que le grand maître de Rhodes eût lors un avantageux parti avec le Turc, toutefois il fut en doute qu'à la longue la seigneurie de Rhodes n'en fût brouilée, et en danger, s'il détenoit continuellement son prisonnier à Rhodes, croyant bien que le frere jouisfant seroit incessamment à l'aguet pour l'avoir, ou par amour, ou par trahison, ou de force. D'autre part, il redoutoit les enterprises des voisins, comme du Souldan, des Vénitiens, du roy de Naples, et autres, et pensoit

pensoit que chacun d'eux employeroit ses cinq sens pour trouver moyen de l'avoir, et en faire chacun son profit; aussi étoit-il fort requis par le pape de le lui bailler, pour le profit et l'avantage du saint siege apostolique. Enfin pour éviter tous ces inconvéniens, il délibéra de le mettre en lieu sur; et pourcequ'il étoit natif de France, de la comté de la Marche, et de la maison d'Aubusson, il résolut de l'envoyer en ce royaume, considerant que le roy étoit fort éloigné des seigneuries du Turc, et qu'il n'auroit guéres d'intérêt sur le fait de cet empire Ottoman, à qui il demeurât des deux freres. Toutesfois avant que de l'envoyer en France, il envoya scavoir du roy Louis onziéme de ce nom, sison plaisir seroit de le vouloir bien souffrir en son royaume; laquelle chose le roy accorda volontiers. Après donc que ledit maître de Rhodes eût ainsi eu le congé et la permission du Roy, il prépara le voyage de son prisonnier, et l'envoya descendre au pays de Languedoc; de là il le fit mener en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du seigneur du Bocalami, qui étoit parent d'icelui grand maître; et là fut détenu ce prisonnier, qui avoit pour sa garde aucuns chevaliers de Rhodes, lesquels étoient pour la plupart parens dudit grand maître: Il étoit fort bien entretenu de sa personne en toutes ses necessitéz et besoins; aussi son frere empereur payoit bien sa dépense. Ce prisonnier avoit oui parler du roy Louis, et de la grandeur de son royaume, et de sa seigneurie, et aussi de ses faits; par quoi il déliroit fort de le voir et de parler à lui. Les chevaliers qui l'avoient en garde le firent sçavoir au Roy, lequel fit réponse, que pour la grande renommée que son pere avoit eue, qui en son tems étoit jusqu'alors le plus grand prince de la Loi de Mahomet, et lequel avoit le plus fait de belles conquêtes qu'aucun autre, il le verroit volontiers, et communiqueroit de très bon cœur avec lui; mais que bonnement il ne le pouvoit faire, attendu qu'il n'étoit pas de sa Loi; et ordonna de plus qu'on lui dît, que s'il vouloit embrasser la religion Chrétienne, il lui promettoit d'employer toute sa puissance afin de lui aider à recouvrer les seigneuries de

son empire; et de plus, il lui donneroit de quoi entretenir son état : et si d'avanture il vouloit cependant demeurer en son royaume, qu'il lui donneroit des héritages et seigneuries, avec la jouissance desquelles il pourroit vivre comme un prince. Les chevaliers firent scavoir tout cela à leur prisonnier; mais pourquoi que ce fut il ne voulut délaisser sa Loi, et demeura encore en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du susdit Bocalami, jusqu'audit mois de Janvier mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, qu'après plusieurs poursuites et instances que le pape, et le saint siege apostolique avoient faites envers le roy, afin d'avoir ce prisonnier, pour le grand profit et interest du saint siege; et qu'à cette cause il y avoit en ambassade envoyée exprès devers le roy, laquelle y étoit encore. Le roy se montrant vrai fils de l'Eglise, et voulant en suivre l'amour que ses prédécesseurs avoient eu envers le saint siege, dont à cette cause ils ont acquis le titre de très-chrétiens rois de France; il livra et remit ce prisonnier aux ambassadeurs du saint pere pour le mener à Rome: ce qui arriva un peu auparavant que l'ambassadeur du Turc arrivat à Paris, lequel ambassadeur offroit de la part de son maître au roy, de grands partis et avantageuses conditions, comme de bailler toutes les reliques de Dieu notre Sauveur, des apôtres, et des saints et saintes, que son pere avoit trouvées à Constantinople lorsqu'il fit la conquête de cette ville, et dans toutes les autres villes qu'il avoit conquises sur la chrétienté; de plus, il offroit de faire tout son effort pour conquérir la terre sainte, et puis de la remettre ès mains du roy; aussi offroit-il une grosse pension pour l'entretenement de son frere, pourvu que le roy le retint dans son royaume. Lorsque ces grandes offres se firent, le prisonnier étoit encore dedans le royaume, et l'eût bien pû le roy recouvrir et s'en rendre le maître ; et même aucuns disoient que vû ces grandes offres, le roy les devoit accepter: mais il se voulut bien montrer vrai fils de l'Eglise, et ne voulut pas préférer l'avarice et l'interêt à la libéralité, et à la loyanté, en disant que puisqu'il l'avoit fait livrer aux gens du pape, et qu'il lui en avoit accordé la délivrance, il vouloit tenir sa parole, et qu'il seroit bien joyeux que le saint siege en sit son prosit, et en pût tirer quelque avantage. Il sut donc mené à Avignon; et de-là il sut mis sur mer, et conduit à Rome. D'ailleurs, le grand maître de Rhodes poursuivoit aussi de sa part qu'il sût mis ès mains du saint siege; et par ce moyen il sut fait cardinal, et obtint de grands priviléges et biens pour tout l'ordre de saint Jean de Jerusalem. Le roy sit au reste très bien entretenir et traiter l'ambassadeur du Turc, et celui du roy de Naples, qui le conduisoit, et les sit désrayer, et leur sit de beaux dons.

TEXTE DE CAOURSIN.

Zyzymy Rex legatos mittit Rhodum.

MIttit itaque rex Zyzymy Rhodum legatos: ad quos prius literas dederat. sed nuncium terrestre iter agentem: regis Bagyazit milites intercipiunt. Legati Cilicie littoribus rhodiam biremem casu repertam conscendunt: rhodumque navigant. Interea navigium apud ea littora stationem habens Zyzymy conducit ut si casus exegerit: repente eo conscenso saluti quoquo modo consulat. Legati ubi rhodum appulerunt: jussu equitum magistri Petri d'Aubusson senatu co-acto in hanc loquuntur sententiam.

Oratio legatorum in Senatu Rhodiorum.

PRHOBLLENTISSIME princeps et magister: pre-Rantissimique equites. Nobilissimus adolescens ac sublimi loco natus Zyzymy rex: othumannides maximi regis nepos. splendidissimi imperatoris silius: ac potentissimi tyranni germanus, adversis rebus ad tempus cedens: cupit ad te sapientissimum principem et victo-Y 2 riossimum

(1) 数数形式

Cette relation a été imprimée à Ulme en 1496 ; on a suivi ici Portographe et la ponctuation de l'original.

riolissimum magistrum. vosque fortissimos athletas: confugere, quorum prudentia confilio atque ope : rebus afflictis mederi posit. Quam propere mittendam classem esse petit: que ipsum excipiens Rhodum deuchat. fidemque publicam implorat: qua tutus in vestram ditionem pateat aditus. hoc loco referre non libet: que veltros quidem prestantissimos animos persuadeant : ut regium adolescentem: non reiciatis. Nobiles viri estis: et multa prediti prudentia. satis superque intelligitis: quanti ponderis existant postulata et quot vel quales fructus inde excerpi poterint. Schnus enim vos preclarissimos viros armis asuetos: res magis quam verba impellere : quare prolixiori fermone fuauissimus aures non obtundemus. Potentissimum regis natum: ad vos accedentem (licet profugum) ne floccipendatis. Indecorum enim effet afilium regi claudere. quod vel homonciis: et pufilis semper patuit. Celebre quidem est veltrum (apud exteras nationes) nomen: quod et caucasos montes transcendit et indos penetravit. Quin armis vim repellere non ignorat : et profugos fouere afilo tutissimo non fastidit generosusvester animus. Littere in fenatu recitate: diem postulant.

Senatus confultum.

LEGATIS curia exclusis: magister, patres quoque de re consultant et multa mente agitant. que modo suadent: ut regem Zyzymy excipiant. modo: ut reiciant impellunt. Tandem ex rationum controuersiis (seu ex calculorum collisione ignea scintilla) una resultat sententia: decernuntque regem excipiendum alendum atque souendum: quia ejusce eventus occasio christiane religioni profutura sit. Intromissis legatis: senatus consultum editur. actis gratiis: petunt: ut res quantotia us parentur: ne mora discrimen afferat.

Classis paratur: et Ciliciam nauigat ad Zyzymy deue.

ONERARIA igitur nauis triremes: nauigiaque parantur, prefectus inlignis eques delignatur: qui classe

conscensa clara militum hierosolimorum comitatus caterua in Ciliciam nauigat. vbi illic appulit : rex Zvzymy nauigium de quo supra mentionem fecimus : citato equorum cursu vrgentibus germani militibus iam confeenderat. fama est cum a littore paululum elongaretur : perbreuem quidem epistolam Zyzymy conscripsisse & ad fratrem dedisse : quam sagitte involuit nexuitque: 80 sitico arcu in terram contorsit. exceptam effe ferunt epistolam a fratris militibus qui regium iuuenem persequuti sunt : & fratri redditam : quam ubi germanus perlegit : parumper lacrimatus est. animoque consternatus diu filuit : & aditu prohibito papilione se continuit. egre certo tulit. quod frater mahumetee legis cultor (quod permaximum crimen mahumetei ducunt) ad christianos confugerit. ad eos presertim qui othumannidum familie infentifilmi fuere: & genitorem grauiori affecerunt ignominia. quodque fratrem christiano adherentem nomini. legi mahumetee grauissimum afferre posset dedecus, quorum se conscium prositetur : qui tanta atrocitate fit eum persequutus. Series epistole : fuit.

Rex Zyzymy Rhodiorum classem conscendit.

Use nunciatum est: rhodios sai causa advantasse, sumatus animo: nauim conscendit. & hierosolimorum equitum sidei: sese credit. Nauis presectus: Regus lumothumaniidem humanitate honore obsequioque prosequitur. littora patrii soli linquens: & paternum autitumque regnum deserens rex. turbato animo aliquot siluit horas: mente postmodum recepta. navis presectum: his alloquitur verbis:

Zyzymy classis perfectum alloquitur.

NEDUM ago tibi vir illustris gratias: verum habeo ingentes. cumulateque redderem si sors a sublimi loco me non deiecisset. Quod me destitutum profugum animo extorremque tanto zelo afficias. Sed ab ingenuis visceribus magnanimoque: non nisi illustria proficissi poterunt. generosi quidem sunt: qui te ad mo

excipiendum miserunti tu quoque ex coetu corum nobislises et vir dignus, qui mandata exequi accurate pro tua
innata prudentia & scis & studes. Non possum tamen
non parum admirari: quod tanti affectus iudicium in
me exhibeatur, qui ejus natus sum: qui scuicia crudelitate ac immanitate (dum spiritus alebat artus) rhodios
persequutus est. in quo: & tuam & tui principis ac senatus rhodiorum nobilitatem predico. prudentiam admiror simul & magnanimitatem (que iniurarum obliuiscitur) extollo. Si res prospere succedent : tanti quidem
in me officij memorem & gratum intelligent rhodii. Gui
ait: classis capitaneus.

Responsio capitanei.

CLARISSIME princeps: hoc a natura illustrioribus animis datum eft. vt soleant precellentes viros: honore afficere digno. tu qui fummo loco natus es: quamvis profugus & extorris contemtui tamen non elle debes. ld quippe villum hominum censetur: qui nonnisi bene fortunatos colere sciunt. At magnanimi viri quos virtus aut fanguinis profapia illustrat : vel hostes armis pofitis reverentur colunt atque observant. Te excipimus ut hospitem : non hostem. hospitis quidem iura : non hostis sequimur. Nec enim mirari licet: quo te affectato corde prolequimur, cuius genitor: seuo rhodio persequutus est odio. Parer tuus legis mahumetee sees tator : quod fibi cordi est molitus. Nos vt hostipro virili parte constanter arma obiecimus. licet caduca quedam terrena & vilia prostrarit : que quantotius erecta funt glorie tamen famam quam nulla oblitterabit etas: rhodiorum nomini attulit. Posteritas namque omnis rhodiorum victoriam e celo demiscam nullo tempore reticebit. Leonis profecto brutorum principis animalium mos est: prostratis blandiri seusque animalia grauiori imbuere ira. Milites quoque christi: leonis mores imitati, qui ad eos amice congiunt : humanitate excipiunt. qui scuicia vtuntur : Arictos gladios fortiter objiciunt.

de the crift purpose property destructs

NEWS:

Pompa qua exceptus est a Rhodiis rex Zyzymy.

INTEREA Regis aduentu nunciato: parantur que pompe deceant. struitur ad mare ligneus pons: qui descendentem excipiat regem: pontis enim longitudo in mare protensa decem fere passuum fuit. latitudo quatuor : quibus equo gradu plures incedere possent. attrebatum pannis auro argenteo serico lanaque contextis: pro gallorum belgarum more (qui huiusce artis inuentores & peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. via enim qua pedum vestigia incedentes premerent : thurcorum pictis tapetis sternitur, vici qua parte cundum fuit : mirto floribus suauem quidem odorem spirantibus respersi ac varietate sunt distincti. Primores ac plebeia gens que ad spectaculum conuenerat: vias obsident. Matrone ac nupte innupteque puelle : ad fenestras se-Reliquum vulgus tecta confcendit : vt venientem conspiciant regem. Nauim ante portus hostium anchorissubnixam Rhodia triremis propinquans: regem excipiens ad pontem vehit. Premiss sunt prestantes senatorii ordinis equites: qui Zyzymy descendentem consalutent. Hos sequitur longus famulorum ordo: infignis magistri redimitorum gallicos cantus vibraneium. deinde iuuenes prime lanuginis milites hierosolimitani : lucentibus equis insidentes. Torque veste serices & splendido ornatu : distincti incedunt. Magistrum post hos infignis vehit fonipes: spumancia frena mandens. Aureis fibulis phalerisque ornatus: qui hynnitum sepius edens. superbe graditur : vt ne quidem magistro quempiam adherere laciniori incellu permittat. Senatus quidem grauis : equis vectus subsequitur. Edem lancti Sebastiani foro sitam de industria magister non transit : illucque obuiam venit rex Zyzymy. superbo insidens equo : fidis comitatus profugis. Postquam magistrum rex conspexit : ter digito labellum compescuit. qui mos est barbarorum principum: cum mutua reuerencia sese afficient. Magilter autem pro more principem reueretur. Reddita falutatione dextras jungunt. & per interpretem confabulantes : ad edes equitant paratas. Ubi ad palacia francorum equitum (magnifice ad hec ornata) ventum est eo dimisso magister suas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes sese agiliter excipit: ac duorum medius thurcorum honoris causa vinas sustentantium scalas conscendens penetralia ingreditur. barbarico-que sago abiecto: lectisternio pro thurcorum more slexis poplitibus sedit. Ea die artubus sale tabentibus: quies data est.

Zyzymy ad Magistrum verba.

POSTRIDEE eius diei : magistrum coram alloquitur rex his verbis. Prestantissime magister inclitissimeque princeps: germani seuicia me persequente. cumque fors eo me redegiffet : vt aduerfis cedere quam in fortunam conari falubrius vifum effet, multa menti occurrunt : huc atque illuc animum convertens ad quos confugerem non fatis prospicio. Demum tu preclarissime athleta occurristi: subijtque mentem tui quidem nominis fama percelebris, que nedum christianos: verum exterorum fines & vique ad indos penetranit. Accedit ad hoc fidei integritas: animi generolitas mentisque magnanimitas. qua tu: tuique commilitones prediti funt. Preterea precellentis triumphi gloria: quam (oblidione qua genitor meus Rhodios oppugnauit) adepti estis illustre quidem facinus: othumannorum familiam (supra octingentos annos tropheis trumphis atque ouationibus celebratam) virtute vestra propulsasse. ingenti itaque tue virtutis admiratione allectus: te tuorumque militum cetu m. nedum dilexi verum amani colui & magnifeci. Vestre quippe: virtutis tante sunt vires vt nedum sue gentis: verum exterarum nationum animos alliciant: Nec parum attulit mihi fiducie: quod tu christianorum principum fauorem gratiamque haud immerito complecteris. Et per te : tui quidem nominis splendor in orientem late diffunditur. Nulli certe mirum videri debet : si personam sue fidei crederemus, qui magnanimus & sapientishmus genitoris preteritas iniurias partiipenderes : & filium tiranni ad te confugientem. non contemneres: verum confilio auxilio atque prefidio foueres. Sed tacitus forfitan cogitas: que fure cum germano

germano de regno hic contendit qui minor est natu. Fateor fratrem prius in lucem prodisse : hac quoque ratione imperio exclusum iri contendo. Patre enim genitus est non rege: qui (nondum principatum adeptus) ipsum genuit. Possideat igitur: quorum pater (dum eum suscepit) potitur. Ego vero a patre rege imperialibus infulis ornato: genitus natus educatufque sum. Nec patrem vidi cognoui atque colui : nisi regem imperatorem ac principem rerum potitum. Que fit : vt optimo iure quod pater (cum me genuit) possedit: mihi debeaut nato. At mittamus hec. Potuit ne me regno paterno auitoque prorsus expellere: & regio iuueni dignam portionem denegare? Regiam gazam: precellentemque supellectilem inuadere sibi ascribere ac diripere ? Commilitones (ve mihi infenti effent) donis corrumpere allicere atque mouere : & me ad interitum víque vrgere? O fratris seua crudelitas? O germani contumax tyrannis? O sanguinis ceca cupiditas? Pudet hec : de fratre queri. Sed quod non erubuit : me paterna hereditate spoliare equum est me (iniuria fpoliatum) coram his ad quos confugio haud verecunde conqueri. Qui enim medici operam petit : dolorem & vulnus detegat necesse est. Ad te confugi Rhodiorum felicissime princeps: vosque amplector fortissimi milites. facessant igitur paterne contumelie: ad calamitatem (qua premor) mentem convertere velis inclitissime athleta qui hokium armis audes refiltere: & principum calamitati scis subuenire. Percuciam quippe cum christianis perpetuum foedus : nec eos armis lacessere conabor: paternique imperij portione non indigna contentus: armis politis quiescam. Nec immemor beneficiorum (a te susceptorum) ero. Imploro tuum presidium. inuoco principum christiane religionis auxilium : vt & mihi & iplis consulant germani seuiciam vindicantes. pro inimico amicum : pro hoste hospitem : pro infido fidum : R. P. christianorum vendicabunt. Rege filente: magister ita loquutus est.

Responsio Magistri.

VERBA tua illustrissime Rex: prudencia sunt plena.

Quod me & rhodios equites tantopere laudaris: tue
quidem

quidem modestie ascribimus. Si quid enim glorie fame aut dignitatis in nostro relucet cetu : deo gratiarum infusori attribuimus. Ex cuius providentie fonte: cuncta manant fluunt ac deriuantur. Nec te moueat : quod christiani & cruce signati sumus. Rhodiorum quippe ciuitas cunctarum gentium afilum refugium & portus fidissimus est ad quam (patrum nostrorum memoria & tue gentis & aliarum non contemnendi principes) qui confugere: gratiam cum humanitate reportarunt. Nec enim decet generolos animos : cum de foedere agitur hostilium armorum reminisci. Si genitor fuit acerrimus Rhodiorum oppugnator: putauit sue legis decori id conducere. Egit vt hostis: nos autem vt hosti gladios obiecimus. Deus tandem clementissimus iustiori fauit parti : & victorie angelum rhodijs mittere dignatus est. Tu ut hospes amicusque accedis: jura quidem hospicii benivolencie ac dilectionis prebeamus decens est. bono ac erecto fis animo: pro virili parte rerum euentui consulere. quodque tibi & nomini christiano conducat : exequi non paruipendemus quantum & ingenioli: & fortunarum facyltas suppeditarit. Komanus quidem pontifex : reges potentatusque catholici. Qui religionis christiane tenent gubernacula: potentia sapientia ac propensiore in R. P. christianorum voluntate perditi funt, qui tui adventus occasione frui scient : te non deseremus, sed nos huic cause: propicios comperies. Placuitque plurimum tui iuris summam intelligere : vt iuste cause inniti videamur. Grateque sunt oblationes : que non nifi ab animo grato & generola mente (que omnem respuit ingratitudinis labem) proficiscuntur. His dictis regeque falutato edes reuifit.

Confultationes Rhodiorum.

Toris diebus frequens senatus cogitur t vbi sapien. tissima consultatione res agitantur. Placuit tandem principi ac rhodiorum senatui : in eam quoque sententiam cunctorum animi inclinantur ad Romanum pontificem imperatorem reges & principes catholicos: literas dari nunciosque mitti, qui regis Zyzymy ad rhodios confugiod diet enines relieden fram uno

mm nuncient: oportunitatemque a Deo oblatam fignificent. quo. R. P. christianorum: consuli possit. Optimumque visum est: vt profugus princeps sub tutela magistri & rhodiorum equitum ad occiduas migret prouincias. Facto S. C. litere nuntijque expediuntur. Ac nauis oneraria paratur que regulum deuehat. cujus conductores deputantur prestantes rhodiorum milites: qui kalendas septembris M. cccc lxxxij. Navim conscendentes portu seliciter soluunt. Ea quoque pompa & ornatu: quo Zyzymy vrbem introiuit. Postquam dies duo & quadraginta moram traxisset: Rhodo discessit.

Guillelmi Caoursin Rhodiorum vicecancellarij de admissione regis Lyzymy in Gallias & diligenti custodia asseruatione: exhortatio.

NULLUS est orthodoxe fidei tam imbecillis cultor: qui pro virili parte aggredi non debeat quod christiani nominis honori falutique conducat. Etsi corporis vires non suppetunt: voluntas tamen merito adsit. in qua vera folidaque virtus locata est. Haud igitur absonum erit: si ab ignauo pusilloque ingenio viro Quedam dicuntur. que fortassis: sapientum illustria ingenia & potentum manus excitent. Hinc christi zelus diuini nominis amor: in ecclesiam catholicam affectus haud temere mouit. Hinc deflenda orientalis plage labes: immaculatarum animarum laplus. scelerum atrocitas: promere impellit que ingenioli debilitas; balbuciens lingua tremulaque manus edere possit. Arduum est enim quod aggredimur: egetque precellenti intellectu viro. qui eloquentia suasione atque exhortatione prestet: & auditores facile moueat. Durum quippe est etate nostra (mundialibus curis implicitis) catholicis persuadere: yt que nostri maiores patresque ex incuria perdidere christiane religioni reintegrentur. Jampridem plerique viri doctrina & dignitate pollentes: operam pariter & indultriam his in persuadendis perdidere. Loquutiores quoque habiti sunt: quo labores & impendia subire fuadent. nec propterea desistere cepto decreui: si vel VOL. V. mihi

mihi temeritas aut infania ascribatur, perspicaci quidem fapientiffimorum iudicio doctorumque seuero examini editionem submittens : dicendi initium aggrediar. ingeniorum profunditas: quod ex proditis equum redolet libat faltidiatque quod inconcinum absurdum atque infulfum conceperit. Si animo destinauerim iacturas clades strages & ignominias describere : quas christiano nomini mahumetes thurcorum princeps (qui nuper e vita excessit) crudelirer attulit. Nec vires nec tempus: nec dicendi facultas certe fuffecerit. Is quippe tyrannus Nerone crudelior. Rege Affuero: potenti-Ac Holopherne est proteruior. Imperia enim duo: Regna non pauca. validissimasque ditiones: mahumetee legi subegit. Potentissimasque ac preclarissimas yrbes : tributum fubire compulit. In qua quidem atrociori perseguutione scelerum tam immensa colluvies nata est. Ut ea Nec mens excogitare Nec lingua promere Nec Calamus exarare poterit. Que terfo grauique stilo plerique doctiffimi : toti orbi nota reddidere. vt superfluum fuerit: nunc dicendi latissimum campum ingredi. Presertim: quod in animo est deuotas mentes. attrocitate non afficere: nec obductum vulnus refricare, verum pro ingenioli facultate : ab omnipotenti deo oblatam oportunitatem. Imperialis Constantinopolitane vrbis sedem : vniuersamque greciam (que europe portio est) subigendi & in christianam potestatem redigendi demonstrare intendimus. modo adsit: qui voluntate sapientia & potestate fruatur. sine quorum foedere: nullum perfectum proderit opus. Libet enim paulifper mente coniectari : que causa fuerit tantarum cladium enormitas. Quique tam seuus immanis scelestus ac prepotens vir : tam infignes victorias fit affequutus. Nec id: qui tunc rerum gubernacula tenuerunt : ignauie ascripserim: quam permulti accusare nituntur. Potissimum fuisse iudico: mahumetis illius mirandam inauditamque obedientiam. Cui nec pufillo nec magno in ditione sua degenti : refragari fas fuit. At tremebundi attonitique dicto parentes: vel interitus pericula non formidarunt ut omni studio principi parerent: Nec fuit qui de throno imperij cum co-contenderet. His quippe

quippe turpiter occisis: aut veneno enectis, qui thronum conscendere conarentur: ditionis imperijque monarcha colitur, nec audet aliquis ceruicem erigere : fed pauidi ad tyranni pedes procumbunt. Hinc oritur infolentia: hinc potentia: hinc obedientia nascitur: hine fines ampliandi cupido incessit. & dum longinqui privatarum rerum studiosi) thurco vicini sidei tuitionem credunt : horrida fanies nos inficit. Est profecto othumannorum domus inter mahumeteos illustrissima: tyrannis semper referta christianis molesta & formidolosa. Atque poliquam ysthmum afie minoris (sub heraclio principe: pipino rege apud gallias regnante) intrauit: grandes iacturas attulit & mahumeteum cultum auxit. Potuit enim parua manu extingui : cum in principatus exordio locata est. Sed paruipenderunt : qui enses et obicere potuissent. Sieque torpentibus animis: pedetentim traiecto helesponto Europam adijt. in qua haud incelebres ditiones: suo adiecit imperio, ad postremum quoqué etate nostra : imperialem patriarchalemque fedem sue fecit ditionis. Post cuius expugnationem : vicinis ae infulis prefertim rhodiis cruce fignatis molestiffima habita eft. quos etiam deuincere extinguere atque proterere : conata est. At divina pietas christi veros athletas : a tyrannidis ingo protegit. Cujus repulse ignominia affectus: draco ille scelettiffmus mortem obijt atque damnatam euomit animami O immenfa 5 dei clementia. O inscrutabilis : sapientia. O invictus potentia que mira veteris legis renovans : inauditum edidit miraculum. potentissimum quidem ditissimum a trocissimumque christicolarum persequutorem : pusillo principatui & cruce fignatorum cetui subicit. Quem quoque validissime vrbes triumphatorem conspexere. clara thodus : victum pressum & tandem ignominia repulse affection ridet, dignara quidem est divina potestas etate noftra oftendere : quam vile quam imbecille quam eneruatum fit thurcorum fetidum nomen, vt christiam norum animos : pristinis iacturis attonitos erigeret confolaretur ac folidaret : deuotasque mentes augeret. adexercitus comparandos. Qui Bifantium & Europamhaud indignam litus & orbis portionem (mahumetea po: tunitatem lutione)

lutione) liberent. Debuit certe Rhodiorum infignis victoria (diuinis miraculis redimita) fideles animos mouere: ut vniverso sædere iuncti in nephandum draconem vires instaurarent. At rejecto diuino suasu tabescit humana potestas: nec audit mouentem mundi creatorem. Qui pulsans iterato: haud paulopost terremotibus in Alia & Rhodo editis. crudelem tyrannum Rhodijs minitantem: Jam iamque imminentem, vt exofam fibi vrbem peffundet. Repentina etenim morte occidi permittit. Hinc oritur in asia europaquoque thurcorum tumultus: potentum fimultates germanorum nepotumque tyranni dissidia: imperij thronum appetentium. Germanique Bagyazit & Zyzymy: mutuis cladibus sese conficiunt. Que res maxime christianam potentiam excitare potuit. vt vindictam de tyrannica domo fumeret: & ab Europa tyranni iugum excuteret. Dormit etiam latina potentia: nec pullanti deo creatori aditus patuit. Communeque bonum : priuato affectui algore regens occidua fortitudo: postponit. O quam dura est presens etas : O quam tarda. O quam lenta : minori certo de causa nostri maiores illustria aggressi sunt facinora. & insignem triumphum: quandoque de barbaris fidei hostibus reportarunt. Erat quippe in eis christi sanguis seruentior : qui precordia commouit impulit atque roborauit. Non enim misericors deus cordis ferrea duricia commotus: illustriori occasione christicolarum mentes hortari statuit. Qua permittitur fraternum dissidium diuturnius prestare : ne aut vi aut dolo aut toxico interiret. Noui quidem thurci : qui nunc bisancijs imperat. frater Rex Zyzymy: somni presidio destitutus) ad Rhodios confugit : ab his quoque qui patri infensissimi fuere. & qui potentiam eius retruserunt: tutamen presertim implorans. Prestat enim profugo clarissimus Rhodiorum Magister vitam: quem a furore gladij fraterni eripit fouet nutritque fuis opibus. Ut superstes frater terrori anxietati atque tremori fratri fit imperitanti. Agendis quoque prudenter consulens principem namque Zyzymy in occidentem misit : ne fratri propinquus imperitanti vim dolos & insidias ejus subiret. felix quippe profugium : quod apertam oportunitatem

tunitatem (Res aggrediendi preclaras) affert. Non ett enim qui ignoret : quantas clades & ruinas. ciuium difcordia, affinium diffidium fraternumque odium: imperils ac regnis Reipublice attulerit. Sacre quidem gentiliumque litere : huius labis referte funt exemplis. Nec enim nostra etas : horum haud expers censetur. Non certe aliter Romanorum R. P. (olim potentissima) interit. Nec secus Athenarum ciuitas aratrum passa est-& Grecorum imperium christum colens : non mulcos exectos annos hoc affectum malo prorfus occidit. Ait enim : sapiens quidam. Concordia parue res crescunt. Discordia: maxime dilabuntur. Saluator quoque noster summa veritas : id explicans ait. Omne regnum in le ditiflum : desolabitur. Hinc orta est (strenuissimi thurcorum ducis Achmat Basie ydronti expugnatoris) nex repentina : cuius tanta fuit infolentia procacitas & audacia. Ut non nisi assiduo cogitatu : vtaliam attingere cupiuerit. Eoquidem superstite: numquam erant vicini quieturi. ingentesque clades : minabatur sese illaturum. Erat profecto animo audacissimus manu promptus valido corpore armorumque peritus : qui numquam quiescere assueuerat. Hunc quidem terrore fraterni profugij: Nouus thurcus impulsus dolo necari justit. Hine quoque commilitonum satellitumque noui thurci lateri adherentium: conspiratio tumultusque nascitur. Qui sui principis somnolentiam fastidientes: Regis Zyzymy deliderio ducuntur. Hinc opum profulio editur : vt fibi animos nouus thurcus alliciat. Hinc assidua: in Europe portione (que sibi paret) atque alia trepidatio, tantaque inquietudine ac terrore thurcus afficitur : vt iamiam germanum imminere adesse & aggredi sese putet. Nec vigilijs nec somno: aliud cogitat aliud voluit aliudque videt quam Zyzymy Regem. Hine illud infigne inauditumque monstrum natum est: ut thurcum non puduerit. quadraginta milia nummum auri Rhodiorum magistro triumphatori Petro Daubuffon mirtere, pacto inito: vt germanus attentius (ne fibi molestie terrorique fit) afferuerur. Princeps quidem potentissimus terrore fraterno impulsus: Rhodiorum magistro tributi conditione sese reddit ob-Z 3 noxium.

noxium. O dei inscrutabilis: providentia. O ineparrabilis: iustiia. O ineffabilis: bonitas. crudeliffimi quidem tyranni opulentissimus potentissimus superbiffimus natus: Rhodiorum principi crucefignato aureor m pactorum vectigal foluit apud quem germans vitam fouet: quem tanto amore nephandus genitor profequutus eft. formidololus quippe Bagyazit terrore perculfus statim fiedus cum vicinis percutere non distulit. Rhodiosque illustriori fædere infignit: equis quidem conditionibus pactis. Nec audet trepidus Bagyazit : exercitus in christianos parare classem instruere ensemque obicere, ne germanus adfit : latinorum manu fuccinclus. O quam preciolum profugium: O quam illustre exilium. O quam insigne regis Zyzymy confugium quod tantam attulit latinis commoditatem quietem & honorem. Ex quibus certo facile quis viderit (mentis tamen caligine prius abducta) quanta fit (abomnipotenti creatore) oblata oportunitas Constantinopolim & Greciam recuperandi: latinorumque ditioni redintegrandi. Si modo pronior voluntas. potentiam & sapientiam sibi copularit. vtinam adessent illi : qui olim tanto animi ardore barbaros pessundare cogitarunt. quique nulla porrecta oportunitate graui vero difficultate: magna funt aggressi: assequerentur certe nunc quod optarunt. Sic Ludouicus fanctus Francorum rex: fic perillustres alij principes qui sepius graui incomoditate: ab illustrioribus bellis sunt retracti. Aufim affirmare. Si parua classe Zyzymy vectus adsit. & non numerosus terrestris exercitus (qui danubio traiectu) seruiam intret: thurcorum potentia europa discedet. Si enim minoris asic fines: profugus rex Zyzymy tetigerit. Repente Bagyazit qui nunc imperat (helesponto transmisso) europam terrestribus christianorum copiis patentem deseret: vt germano se obiciat. Ita haud difficulter: europa mahumetea secta liberatur. Sunt enim hec haud obscura: qui orientem: & thurci fines accolunt ejusque mores noscunt. Sed qui longo fitus tractu a nobis distant: nugas fabulasque commentari nos putant. Quicquid quoque dicimus: questus gratia dictum arbitrantur. Sunt quippe auro fulciti : · Amplica

sub deauratis tectis latentes delicatisque cibis nutriti: qu thurcorum horrida non gnorunt arma. Rerum enim affluentia: non finit hec prospicere Non desunt quoque inuidi quidam : mordaci dente hec deprauantes & quod mirabilius deteriusque existit : pacta pecunia cum thurco initoque confilio. Regem Zyzymy: studiosa attentione toxico enecare conantur, vt fublata a deo oportunitateque data : nouus thurcus in regni folio firmetur. Cogitetque stabilis & intrepidus : permagnas vires in christianos exercere. Quas germano superstite manuque Rhodiorum afferuato: sopitas esse necesse est. O scelus: inauditum. O atrox: iniquitas. O detestanda: inuidia. horum qui humani hostis inuitatione fugestioneque dyaboli : christianorum rempublicam turbare subuertere ac eneruare student cupiuntque ac expetunt. Nec aduertunt sele primum interituros: & exterminium perpessuros. Si Rabidus canis (fratre sublato) insolescat: animum refocillet vires resumat mentemque recipiat. Obcecata quidem mens turrita superbia: alterius gloriam videre nequit. veniat in mentem : exterminium strages iacturaque. Quam priscis illis temporibus: Bothi Uvandali Huni. strenuissimi quidem barbari. latino nomini attulerunt. Quod profecto principum tenebrose illius etatis: ignauia inuidia dissidioque contigit. Reuoluant hortor hystoriarum celebres libros: claraque monimenta & qua rerum qualitate versamur : compertum habebunt atque conspicient : quantam deus sit elargitus gratiam quam pertinaci animo non noscunt & audire fastidiunt & queque (in hanc sententiam) deuota mente prolata : in reprobum interpretantur sensum. Has igitur insidias: prudentissimus Rhodiorum magister subtili ingenio ab emulis excogitatas fentiens. Arbitratus quoque principem Zyzymy tutius apud gallias defendi custodiri atque protegi. Quibus certe preest Rex christianissimus: qui catholicam fidem gratia & prefidio (maiorum exemplo) profequitur. vbi & fumma finceraque viget religio: fidesquoque relucet orthodoxa: vbi monstra non gignuntur: ubi carent infidijs ac vbi toxici tabes ignoefficient course estima a considerant returnal

ratur. His cause suasis in franciam Zyzymy Regem mittit. yt robustissimis (cruce signatis) comitibus sugcinclus: opido hierofolimorum in ampliffumo francorum Regno fito afferuetur. Sed non defuit commentum: quod principem Zyzymy regno interdiceret. nec ei pateret aditus : constitutione regia (vti accepimus)! refragante. Que Mahumeteos Judeos alienosque (ab fide catholica) viros regno excludit. Heu grauem Sortem: Res vero quidem equa Justa memoratuque digua. Devoto catholicoque regis christianissimi pectori: vt indigna vt absurda & vt iniqua proponitur nec clarissimi facinoris circunstantie qualitates atque modi: fincere funt explicati. Quis enim velit (presertim hierofolimorum ordo: qui precipuum erectorem protectorem auctorem francorum regem colit veneratur observat) immaculatum integerrimumque regnum obfcenis moribus inficere ? Quis cupit : regie constitutioni aduersari? Quis desiderat: rem atrocem committere? Nullus profecto fane mentis: id excogitarit. Non erit quippe in gallijs: Zyzymy sempiterna mora. Sed ad tempus: quo rebus christianorum consuli possit. non erit cum gallis viris integerrimis & omni immundicie labe puris: Zyzymy commercium. Non erit quidem cum incolis assiduitas: non erit cum habitatoribus familiaritas quandoquidem in secessu concludetur: castelli muris cohibebitur paucis comitatus satellitibus. Aderuntquippe eius custodie milites rhodij: qui constantes corum prauitatem contemnunt & rident. Non debet quidem Gallia hunc rennuere expellere atque contemnere: cuius affernatione tantum decus tantum comodum & tantum vtile emanare potelt. Nec dubitamus pijssimum regem ac sapientissimos doctiffimosque ejus regni viros: haud aliter sentire. Si modo huius principis statum intellexerint, Maior quippe comoditas christianis affertur Zyzymy fouendo protegendo & afferuando: quam inelitissimo regno arcendo propellendo nec non & excludendo. Nec enim regis constitutio: nec conditoris intentio infringitur. vbi tam clarum facinus tam grande emolimentum tamque infigne monimentum: ex admissione

in regnum oritur. Si autem aditus in franciam Zyzymy denegatur: exultabunt infidiatores toxicorum portitores ficarii nephandique satellites. qui dissimulato habitu iussu thurci : nephandorumque virorum sue factionis passim vagipalantur. vt Zyzymy: vel gladio necent. uel rapiant vel veneno interimant. Excipe excipe nobilissima gallia & rex pijssime virum illustrem: nobilissima mahumeteorum familia natum. Qui tanta comoda: christiane religioni est allaturus. Qui germanum magnum thurcum : christicolarum finibus ar cet. Qui fratrem bisanciorum imperatorem : tuoquidem regnicole splendidissimo Rhodiorum magistre submissum reddit. Qui passionis domini nostri ihesu christi monimenta: reliquiasque in Constantinopolitana subversione raptas. & a thurco expugnatore ex industria custoditas heredique nato dimissas: daturum elargiturumque se magistro pollicetur. Qui tantorum scandalorum: extinctio censetur. Qui quietem christiano nomini prebet vide ne eum repellas: qui repulsus scandalo & iacture futurus sit. Si aditum prohibeas: adsunt famelici ac lupi rapaces qui regium iuuenem deuorent lacerent atque opprimant. quo sublato Bagyazit thurcorum rex cornua erigit : Rhodios persequetur. Italie imminebit : hungarosque inuadet. Et qui modo timidus stupidus ac tremebundus pauet facet atque latet? repente erumpet insaniaque insolescet. etiam certe animum augebit : sublatusquippe tremor terror ac formido crit. Ex quibus tot gravia tot horrida tot enormia subsequentur: que narrare nemo quidem poterit. Taceo vrbium subuersiones: & juuenum sidei abnegationem. phanorum polutiones: virginumque prostitutiones. Quorum preterite clades : testimonium perhibent haud incertum. Caue toto orbe dignissima gallia: triumphis ac tropheis priscorum gloria clarissima. Ne tua laudata constitutio: tantorum malorum causa fit. Non fuit profecto legislatoris intentio bonum laudabile ac preclarum edicto excludere : quinimo pessimis viris ac feeleribus regnum purgare. At ubi tantum eminet bonum: in thurci scilicet ad tempus exceptione lex quidem merito atque regia constitutio cedere debet. ວັນນາສາເຄດ

debet. Que sernata: grande quidem scandalum christiano nomini sit allatura. damnant certe iura diuina pariter & humana iura luxuriam inconceffolque concubitus: proftibula tamen permittuntur, ne maius fequatur malum : "omuia equidem turbentur libidinibus. Moyfelquoque libellum repudij permilit : vt homicidium vitetur. duellum quoque conceditur : fi ex eo publieum fequatur comodum. Tollerantur plerumque nonnulla quamuis non equa: ne gravius ingruat malum. Qui profecto rei publice preficitur : licitum est minora permittere mala ne maiora contingant. At dices facienda non funt mala: vt eveniant bona, fateor quidem : si de bonis & malis spiritalibus intelligas suppositum. At si de temporalibus siat comparatio : minora fequi certe mala ratio fuadet. Rarus quippe & feenici conferendus qui minimum spiritale bonum eligit : vt maximo temporali incomodo afficiatur. Nec prauum simpliciter dixerim: Zyzymy excipere regnoque admittere, qui tanta diligentia afferuabitur! ne iniquom afferat exemplar. Exceptio namque hee & legis infractio : non quidem malum moris ac fpiritale cenfeturi nam nee iuri diuino nee iuri communi refragatur. Sed regie constitutioni : edictoque provinciali repugnati Quare prouinciale malum potius dici poterit. Nec enim omnes chrifficole a fuis ditionibus : Judeos & ab fide alienos excludunt. Respondere profecto conor des bilius quam necessium sit : his qui exceptioni regiam constitutionem obiciunt. Sed non advertunt : que (ipfam observando) contingant scandala. Ordini presertim Hierofolimorum : qui Rhodijs imperat. & Francorum regij dyadematis prelidio: ad hanc nostram etatem defensi protectique sunt. Gravissmum quidem feelus est feandalum : ex quo sepenumero nephandas sequentur fi non cauetur modeltia. Doctor quidem gentlum Paulus apostolus Thymoteum circumcidit : ne conversis ludels scandalo lit. Quedam quoque legis mofaice iam fopite cherimonialla fequutus traditur ad tempus : vt scandalum vitarer. Scandali namque tal bes! enormitatum fomes elt. Sed forfitan quis dicet ! fides publica Zyzymy data arcte eius cultodie repugnat. minime

minime quidem; fides namque data Zyzymy regem rhodiorum magistro audientem futurum policetur. Confilioque eius potiturum: nec priuatos appetitus fequuturum. Exceptus enim non est rex Zyzymy: vt christiane religioni aut rhodiorum statui obsit officiat damnumque afferat. Iplum certe profugum a naufragio a mortis discrimine a germani sanguiuolentisque manibus : precellentissimus magister eripit seruat atque defendit, dissonum quippe & a ratione prorsus alienum si quos fautores & vite tutores sentit cladem afferat. Terendum quidem tempus & rebus maturius consulendum : donec etas quietior tranquillior ac feruentior reddatur : Et qui dissident virtute : fruantur optata. Nulla fiquidem ex eius custodia oritur pecuniaria vtilitas: quamuis ampla fit pensio. prodigum est ac profusum id hominum genus: multoque cibo infignique fupellectili vtitur. multafque impenias eius cultodia affert: in educandis qui sue asservationi incumbunt. sui etiam causa legationes ad thurcum & eius ad nos sepius mittuntur: que amplos sumptus faciunt. Honor quidem comodum vtilitus etiam fidei ac reipublice christianorum: ad seruandum iuuenem nos compellit. donec qui cuncta prouidet ex eius alta specula christianorum tepidas mentes inflammet: vt expeditio in fidei hostem instauretur. Si christicole oblatam spernent occasionem: ingratitudinem certe nephandam non feret Deus. luentque penas quandoque: qui conatus qui sanctum propositum: quique res propicias iniquo disturbant ingenio. Si interierit: aut manus hospitalariorum rex Zyzymy (quod Deus auertat) effugerit: tunc liquido patebit : quanto nunc fruimur bono. Quod pauci quidem gnoscunt: plurimi ignorant. perplures certe: vt iniquum facinus opprimunt damnant & faftidiunt. Docte ac fidelis lector: tuo qui perspicaci in genio de paucis plura coniectare poteris. & pro intellectus acumine diiudicabis : si equum sit regie constitutioni inherere ac Zyzymy repellere. vel constitutionem rectius interpretando flectere: & Zyzymy admittere & in regnum introducere. Propositis quidem duobus: que mali speciem induere videntur secundem sapientis sen-

tentiam. minus malum reiecto maiori est eligendum Si quid acrius quam decuit dixerim: aut inconcinum quidpiam edidi vel absurdum connexui, parce precor qui lectitas imbecilli ingenio: quod pondus tanti negocij tussere & explicare non possit. Cedo tibi excellenti ingenio doctori: qui potiora acutiora & prudentiora excogitabis. que deuotas mentes: non ambigo in nosseram alliciant sententiam. valeat felix: quicumque perlegerit. Datum Rhodi, xiij, kal, octobris anno incarnationis christi. M.cccc. lxxxiij.

End of the fifth and lalt Volume.

maked and be set it one reads to read the same and to continue Conference to an action of temperatures and the conference of the conferenc delicate obligation to in it provide south, our office that asserb . Whepers on research nutricularly, referen qui cancia frondete es cha alla circula ciediticani asceration and is meaning a farmound of the control of the first health and infrarence. Si the site of the principal benefits near a jugini hada se cert, nephudasa non fert fansa include greet quardoque, qui coratta qui Gadiona street with a copie of propinities inique at the parties ingress, in markets, all makes lengths inner call court recognites (bette in anoth bego) were I care desco merci i acceso como la sente como de Contra sometime to be the state of the which the account americage and the appear of the tidinate. Delle ac file lie lector ; too out pressioned on colored parely for a sufferior a solver. A more transferen

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Control of the Contro

INDEX

Aron Raschid, (the caliph) permits the French, out of regard to Charlemagne, to visit the holy se-

pulchre, vol. i. page II.

Abasides, (the caliphs) their origin, i. 109. establish themselves at Bagdad, ibid. are acknowledged for the lawful successors of Mahomet by all the Mahometans of Asia, and chiefly by the Selgeucidian Turcomans, ibid. their schism with the Fathimite caliphs, 110. are likeways acknowledged in Egypt, on the extinction of the Fathimites, ibid. Saladin invested with this authority, ibid.

Abdi, commander of the Ottoman squadron, presents himself before Malta, v. 199. writes a very haughty

letter to the grand master, ibid.

Abubeker preferred to Aly in the succession to Maho-

met, 1. 9.

Abulabbas, founder of the dynasty of Abasides, which

settled at Bagdat, i. 109.

Achmet, Solyman's general, is fent to the affiftance of Mustapha, iii. 258. revolts, and proposes a league against Solyman, 259. et seq., is discovered and be-

trayed, 262.

Achmet Geduc demands a reparation of Mahomet II. for the injury offered his wife by his son Mustapha, iii. 34. upon the death of Mahomet II. prevails upon the army to declare in favour of Bajazet, iii. 78. defeats the army of Zizim, 80. is sent out against him a second time, and is victorious again, 84. is appointed a commissioner to treat of a peace between the grand seignior and the knights of Rhodes, 89. expresses his resentment at the terms agreed on, 93. put to death by Bajazet, 94.

Achomat, the eldest son of Bajazet II. his character, iii. 140. the affection of his father for him occasi-

Acre

ons the destruction of them both, ibid.

Acre besieged by the insidels, vol. i. page 158. recovered by the Christians, ibid. again besieged by the

infidels and taken, 165.

Acre, (the bishop of) disputes with the knights of St.

John upon the right of tithes, i. 273. addresses himfelf to the pope upon the occasion, 274. is obliged
to desist from his pretensions, ibid.

Adhad, the last of the Fathimite caliphs, strangled by

Saladin, i. 125.

Admiral, a dignity of the order, fixed to the language

of Italy, iii. 14.

Adrian IV. (pope) approves the treaty concluded between Raimond Berenger and the templars, concerning the execution of the testament of Alphonsus I. i. 69. refuses to recall the privileges of the hospital-

lers, 91.

Adrian VI (pope) receives advice of the loss of Rhodes, iii. 2.76. his attachment to the interest of Charles V. draws reproaches upon him, ibid. grants a bull to the grand master, 238. declares against France in favour of the emperor, 246. falls ill of an ague as soon as the ceremony was over, 247. receives the grand master of Rhodes with great tenderness and affection. 248. his death, 249.

Africa, a city of Africa, its lituation, iv. 103. Dragut feizes it, 106. is belieged and taken by the army of Charles V. and the knights of Malta, iii. et feq. and

offered by that prince to the order, 221.

Agatha, (the fort of St.) built by order of the grand

malter Lascaris, v. 129.

Agnes, a roman lady, prefides over the hospital at Jerusalem, appointed for the reception of women, i.

Agosta quite overturned by an earthquake, v. 171. and repaired by the grand master Adrian de Vignacourt,

ibid.

Aiazzo, a city of Cilicia, in the harbour of which the

Egyptian fleet is routed, iii. 132, et feq.

Airadin, lord of Tagiora, undertakes to drive the knights of Malta from Tripoli, iv. 59. suffers loss in the the expedition, and returns, vol. iv. page 70. is driven from Adabus, where he lay intrenched. 62.

Aladin, general to the caliph of Egypt, fortifies Jerusalem against the Christians, i. 33. deseated by God-

frey of Bouillon, 35.

Alarcon, a Spanish officer, entrusted with the keeping of Francis I. at Madrid, and that of Clement VII. at Naples, iii. 287. resists the solicitations of cardinal Colonna, 288.

Albano, (the cardinal of) made head of the army of the Crusade, as the pope's legate, i. 244. occasions the

loss of the Christian army, 247.

Albany, its situation, ii. 257. the revolution that hap-

pens there, ibid. et feq.

Albi, (the chevalier of) sets sail for Rhodes with the knights of Castile and Portugal, iii. 242. his arrival prevented by the Algerine pirates, who fall upon him at sea, ibid.

Albigenses, their original, i. 225.

Alcantara, (the order of) the grand mastership of it is annexed to the kings of Spain, i. 97.

Alcoran, variety of schisims arising from the different

explications of it, i- 110. ii. 267, et feq.

Alençon, (the dutchess of) is conducted into Spain by the grand master, iii. 271. returns into France, 274. Alexander III. (pope) calls the third general council of

Lateran, i. 103. makes up the difference between the hospitallers and the templars, 141.

Alexander V. (pope) elected at Pifa, il. 219. applies himself to form a league against the Turks, 220. and to put an end to the division in the order of St. John, ibid. his death, 223. John XXIII. his successions.

for is suspected on that account, 224.

Alexander VI. buys the popedom, iii. 107. Shuts up Zizim in the castle of St. Angelo, 108. puts his life to auction, ibid. prepares himself against the arrival of Charles VIII. and shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, 110. comes to an agreement, and promises to deliver up Zizim, 111. but first causes him

Aaz

to be poisoned, vol. iii. page 112. invades the privileges of the knights of Rhodes, 115. forms a powerful league against the Turk, 116. applies himself to raise the fortune of cardinal Borgia his son, 119. his death, 125.

Alexandria taken and plundered by the grand master Berenger and the king of Cyprus, ii. 149. who are afterwards obliged to abandon their conquest, 150.

Alexis, the greek emperor, deals deceitfully with the princes of the crusade, i. 28. enters into a secret trea-

ty with the Sultan Solyman, 29.

Alexis Comnenus, fon to the emperor Isaac Angelus, solicits the princes of the crusade to make war upon the usurper Alexis, who had dethroned his father, i. 211. by their assistance overcomes his opposers, and is made partner with his father in the empire, 213. is dethroned, and murdered in prison. 215.

Algiers invaded by the Barbarossas, with subjection to the grand seignior, iv. 34. an unfortunate expediti-

on of Charles V. against that city, 80.

Alice, the youngest daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, married to Bohemund prince of Antioch, i. 51. after his death sets up for herself, 59. is expelled the city by her father, and obliged to retire to Laodicea, ibid. a conspiracy formed in her favour, 61.

Alice, second daughter of Isabella, and the count of Campaigne her third husband, marries Hugh of Lufignan king of Cyprus, i 219. claims the crown of Jerusalem, 270. her descendents pursue her pretend-

ed right, 319.

Allemand de Chateau-noir, brother Albert, grand commander of Cyprus, favoured by the grand master

Fulk de Villaret. ii. 104.

Alphonfus of Portugal choien grand maîter of the order of St John, i. 197. endeavours a reformation of the order, 199. abdicates his dignity and retires to Portugal, 200.

Alphonfus I. king of Navarre and Arragon, makes the hospitaliers and templars his heirs, i. 66. dies in the combat

combat against the infidels. Troubles on occasion of the execution of his testament, vol. i. page 65,

et feq.

Alvarez de Sande disuades the viceroy of Sicily from fending fuccours to Malta, v. 35. commands the regiment of Naples in the reinforcement fent to Malta, 55. preffes for an engagement with the Turks, 60.

makes a furious charge upon the infidels, 62.

Aly nominated by Mahomet to be his successor, i. 9. Amaury, (prince) choien to fucceed his brother Baldwin III. in the throne of Jerulalem, i. 106. his character, 107. enters into a treaty with Sannar fultan of Egypt, 112. forms a defign to conquer Egypt, 115. draws over the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus to join in the project, ibid. enters upon the expedition. and takes Pelufium, 120. consents to a treaty of peace, 121. is obliged to retire with difgrace, 122. applies for relief to Manuel the emperor of Constantinople, and attends upon him in person, 127. dies, 133.

Amaury, a clergyman in the diocele of Chartres, the

founder of a new fect, i. 224.

Amboife, (Emeri a') is chosen grand master, iii. 123. the marks of Charles VIII's esteem for that prince, 125. holds a general chapter, 120. causes the order gain several advantages, and likeways a naval victory over the fultan of Egypt, 134. his death, 1:6.

Amee V. count of Savoy, falfly reported to have preferved Rhodes from falling under the Ottoman pow-

er, ii. 60.

Amurath I. brother and successor of Solyman, his great conquests, ii 155. he is stabbed by a slave, 173.

Amurath II. eldest son to Mahomet I. succeeds him in the throne, and restores the Ottoman empire to its former splendor, ii. 235. turns his arms against the princes in the Morea, and the ides of the Archepelago, 236. declines to enter into any negociation with the knights of Rhodes, 245. confents to a renewal of the ancient treaties of peace, 257. his quarrels with the king of Albania, ibid. marches at the

Aa3

head

head of a powerful army against Scanderbeg, vol. ii. page 259. lays siege to Croia, the capital of Albania,

but without success, 260. his death, ibid.

Amurath, son to Zizim, turns Christian, and is supported by the knights of Rhodes, iii. 139. attempts to escape with the grand master upon the loss of Rhodes, but is prevented by the vigilance of Soliman's spies, 230. discovered, owns himself a Christian, and is publickly executed with his sons, 235.

Andrew, king of Hungary, undertakes the crusade, i. 234. commits the regency of his kingdom to the palatine Bacbannus, 235. is admitted as a brother into the order of St. John of Jerusalem, 240, gains a victory over the insidels, and returns into his own

country, 241, et feq.

Andrew d'Amaral, commands the gallies of the knights of Rhodes against the sultan of Egypt, iii. 133. demands the dignity of grand master, and is refused it, 147. takes up a resolution to destroy the order, 148. presses the grand seignior to besiege Rhodes, and offers him his service as a spy, 149. opposes the preparations made by the grand master for the desence of Rhodes, 159. Stirs up the Italian knights to a disobedience to the grand master, 164. charged with having made a salse report to the council, concerning the quantity of powder contained in the town, 188. gives notice to Solyman of the weakness of the besieged, 297. his treachery discovered, 208. hanged and quartered, 210.

Andrew Doria, prince of Melphi, commands the emperor's fleet against the Turks, iv. 18. lays siege to Coron, 20. and takes it, 21. besieges Patras, and carries it, ibid. the Turks attempt to recover Coron, and are deseated by Doria, 22. what motives determined him to desert the king of France and go over to the emperor, 76. is made generalissimo over all the fleet of the Christian league, 77, draws over the Venetians to the imperial side by a stratagem, ibid. endeavours to divert the emperor from his African expedition, 80. is sent against Dragut, 101. lays siege

dered by the emperor to pursue the conquest of Africa, ibid. forms the siege, 111. and takes the town, pursues Dragut by orders from the emperor, 122. desires the assistance of the gallies of the order, 124.

Andrew Doria, nephew to the late prince of Melphi, offers to transport 2000 men to Malia, till the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. v. 15. is deluded by the viceroy of Sicily, ibid. proposes to fit out all the naval forces of the king of Spain, and give battle to the Turks at sea, but is over-ruled, 35.

Andronicus, the greek emperor, refuses to assist the hospitallers in the conquest of Rhodes, ii. 49. sends a

body of troops against them, 52.

Andronicus murders his prince, and fets up for empe-

ror, i. 211.

Anjou, (Charles count of) brother of St. Lewis, embarks with him for the crusade, i. 297. his pretensions to the kingdom of Jerusalem, 319. sends a lieutenant into the holy land, ibid. causes seize the goods of the hospitallers who had not joined him in that quarrel, 320. the Sicilian Vespers put an end to his pursuits, 323.

Anne de Montmorency, marshal of France, marches out of Rome to a considerable distance, to receive the

grand master, iii. 247.

Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, made grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 233. puts out a sleet to sea, in order to oppose the designs of the grand seignior, 236. mediates a peace between Sultan Daker and the king of Cyprus, but without success, 237. supplies the Cypriots with succours, and prevails upon the imprisoned king to purchase his liberty at any rate, 239. opposes the sultan's designs against the order, and restores a regularity in discipline, 240. his death, 244.

Antioch, a city of Syria, taken by the crusade, i. 32. retaken and sack'd by Bendocdar Sultan of Egypt,

315. 14, 1500 1 211 120

Antioch, (the patriarch of) excommunicates count Bohemund III. for adultery, and lays the kingdom under

an interdict, vol. i. page 142.

Antonio di San Martino, defends himself before the grand master from the charge of having neglected to send succours to the relief of Rhodes, iii. 241.

Antonio de Toledo, a candidate for the dignity of grand master of Malta, is set aside for his virtues, v. 78.

Aqueduct made at Malra, v. 104.

Arach, a strong place in the frontiers of Arabia Petrasa,

belieged by the Tureomans, i. 130.

Aramon, (Gabriel d') ambassador of Henry II. to the Porte, is desired by the grand master d'Omedes to repair to the Turkish sleet before Tripoli, to hinder the siege of it, iv. 147. is unsuccessful, and detained by Sinan the basha, 151 procures the liberty of the governor and some other prisoners, 1651 returns to Malia, where the grand master d'Omedes throws disadvantageous suspicions upon his conduct with the Bashas, 169, passes to Constantinople, ibid, the king demands justice of him, and obtains it by the industry of Villegagnon, 177, et seq.

Araschid, one of the eldest sons to Muley Mahomet, implores the protection of Barbarossa against his younger brother Muley Hassan, iv. 37. is carried to Constantinople, and arrested in the seraglio by order

of Solyman, ibid.

Ardinel, (the caltle of) taken by the gallies of the or-

der, iv. 21.

Armenians, Christians by religion, but schismatics, their errors, i. 128. acknowledge in appearance the authority of the pope, 222. are assisted by the hospitallers against Solyman the sultan of Iconium, ibid.

Arnaud de Comps, elected grand mafter of the order of St. John, k. 108.

Arpajon, (Lewis viscount of) a fine action of his, v.

Arfenal built at Malta, v. 170.

Ariois, (Robert count of) embarks with the king St. Lewis his brother, for the crusade, i. 297. declares himhimself for the siege of Grand Cairo, his opinion prevails, vol. i. page 300. forces the intrenchments of the Saracens, 301. refuses to hearken to the remonstrances of the two grand masters, and the count of Salisbury, 304. is surrounded by the enemies, and killed, 305, et leq.

Ascalon, the key of Palestine to the Saracens of Egypt, 1. 64. their ichool of war, ibid. besieged by the

Christians, 81. and taken, 84.

Ascanio del la Corna, advises the sending of succours to the knights of Malta, v. 36. his advice prevails, 37. is appointed major-general, and lands in Malta with the Sicilian succours, 58. advises the waiting for the coming up of the enemy in their camp, but notwithstanding marches out with the rest, and sights in the first ranks, 61.

Asia, the state of it at the institution of the order of the

Assalit, (Gilbert of) fourth grand master of the hospitallers, his character, i. 116. gets the council to approve the enterprise of Amaury against Egypt, 117, borrows great sums from the banks of Florence and Genoa, to defray the charges of the war, 118. abdicates his dignity for shame of his bad success, 123. embarks at Jassa, and passes into France, ibid. perishes in his passage to England, 124.

Assassing, a fort of bandinti feated in the mountains of Phænicia, i. 130, the original of the word, 131, are subjected to pay tribute to the templars, 132, offer to become Christians upon their releasement from the tribute, and are ill treated by the templars, 133.

Aubusson, (the commander of) obtains assistance of money from Charles VII. is made overseer of the fortifications of the isle of Rhodes, iii. 24. is sent into the isle of Negropont to the assistance of the Venetians, 26. becomes grand prior of Auvergne, and at last grand master, 36. his chief cares, 37. he prudently decides some disputes with the Venetians, 39. ransoms some prisoners, 40. calls a general chapter, and orders all the knights to repair to Rhodes, 42.

agrees

agrees on a cellation of arms with Mahomet II. vol. iii. page 44. makes an advantageous treaty with the fultan of Egypt, and the king of Tunis, 46. is vested with the fovereign authority, 48. provides for the defence of Rhodes, as his descent, so. at the request of the council confers the chief command of the armies on Anthony d'Aubuffon his elder brother, ibid. fignalizes himself for courage and prudence in the fiege of Rhodes, which he forces the balks Palæologus at last to raife, 56, et feq. enters into a league against Bajazet II. 82. grants Zizim an affylum in Rhodes, 85. from whence he perfundes him to pais into France, his motives therein, oo. enters into a negotiation with the Sultan, og. What the he made of the power he had over the person of Zizīm, 101. agrees with Innocent VIII. to cause conduct him to Rome; the articles of the treaty, 103. his consternation at the news of the death of Zizim, 112. is defired by Charles VIII to conduct him in his enterprise against the Turks, ibid. causes complaint to be made to the pope by Ferdinand king of Arragon, 115. Lewis XII. by an obliging letter, perfuades him to enter into the league against the Turk, 117. banishes the lews from the ifle of Rhodes, 119. writes sharply to the pope, whole injustice towards the order was now beginning again, 121. dies for grief that he had not been able to prevent it; his character, ibid. reflexions on his fuccessors, 122.

Auger de Balben, chosen grand master of the hospitallers, i. 102. composes the difference between king Amaury and the lords of Jerusalem, 108. dies,

ibid:

Avogadre, general of the gallies, deprived of his commission, and condemned to a year's imprisonment, v.

Aufforville, (the chevalier de) sues for succours to relieve Rhodes at the court of France, and obtains them, iii. 242 his sleet dispersed by a storm at sea, 243.

Auvergne, (the grand priory of) the prejudice done to the order in regard of that benefice, iii. 14. B Achannus, palatine of Hungary, made regent during the absence of king Andrew in the holy land, vol. i. page 235. stabs the queen for having assisted in the ravishment of his wife, 238. is pardoned by the king, 242.

Bagdad taken by Togrulbeg, a Turcoman prince, i. 15. the ordinary residence of the calif Abassides, 110. Bajazet, sifth sultan of the Ottoman race, threatens Hungary with an invasion, ii. 173. his advancement to the throne, and conquests, 174. gains a victory over the French, 183. turns his arms against the Greeks, and lays siege to Constantinople, 184. is opposed by Tamerlane, great cham of Tartary, 187. raises the siege to march against him, 190. comes to a battle, is deseated and taken prisoner, 193. insulted by Tamerlane, and kills himself, ibid.

his fons dispute the succession, 202.

.och

Bajazet II. fon to Mahomet II. lavs claim to the crown. iii. 78. is declared grand seignior at Constantinople, but opposed by Zizim his brother, 79. orders his troops to march immediately against him, ibid. offers to come to a composition with him, 81. marches against him in person, and returns victorious, 83. makes him other proposals, deligning to surprise him, 84. forces him to leek protection of the knights of Rhodes, 85. enters into a negotiation of peace with the grand master, 91. and concludes it, 92. causes Achmet the grand vizir to be put to death, 96. prefents the grand mafter with the right hand of St. John Baptist, the patron of the order, 99. sends an embaffador to Charles VIII. king of France, to folicit the giving up of his brother Zizim, 103. makes a yearly allowance to pope Alexander VI. for the imprisonment of Zizim, 108. sollicits him to put him to death, 100 makes a fecret league with the fultan of Egypt against the knights of Rhodes, 126. fits out a fleet, which makes a descent on the isle of Lero, 129. and is forced to retire with precipitation

by the artifice of Paul Simeoni, a young commander in the island, vol. iii. page 129. causes great preparations to be made in all his ports, 138. is obliged to suspend the execution of his project, by reason of some domestic differnions in his own family, 140. is possoned by his physician at the instigation of Selim his son, 141.

Balac, a Turcoman emir, takes the count of Edessa and the king of Jerusalem prisoners, i. 50. killed by Jos-

celine de Courtenay, 53.

Balagu, bp. of Malta, opposes the grand master, v. 121. Balben, (Auger de) second grand master of the hospitallers, i. 102 assists at the council of Nazareth, and contributes a great deal to get Alexander III. acknowledged as lawful pope, 106, and Amaury as king, 107. dies very old, 108.

Balbiano, one of the principal defenders of the city of Candia when belieged by the Turks, v. 129. drives

them from an important bastion, ibid.

Baldwin succeeds his brother Godfrey of Bouillon, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, i. 41. after a successful reign of eighteen years, dies of a disentery, ibid.

Baldwin du Bourg, count of Edessa, succeeds to the crown of Jerusalem, under the title of Baldwin II.

i. 41. gains a victory over the Turcomans, and enters Antioch in triumph, 50. is taken prisoner by the enemy, ibid. is dismissed upon the payment of a ransom, 54. gains a considerable victory, ibid. makes new conquests, ibid. dies, 59.

Baldwin II. the third fon to Peter de Courtenay, made emperor of Constantinople, i. 280. travels into Italy

to implore succour, 281.

Baldwin III. succeeds his father Fulk in the throne of Jerusalem, i. 70. advances against Noradin, 79. lays siege to Ascalon, 81. succours Paneas, 98. surprised by Noradin, but escapes with the loss of his forces, ibid. gains a complete victory over him, 100. poison'd by a physician, 106.

Baldwin IV. succeeds to the throne of Jerusalem, i.
134. of an infirm constitution, ibid. surprises Saladine,

dine, and gains a victory over his army, vol. i. page 135. attempts to fortify a castle in Jacob's ford, and is descated by the insidels, ibid. nominates the young Baldwin his nephew to succeed him, 147. commits the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, ibid. his death, 148.

Baldwin W. dies within seven months after his advancement to the throne, and not without suspicion

of poilon, i. 154.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, cholen emperor of Con-

fantinople, i. 216. his death, 280.

Bannerets, magistrates of Rome in the absence of the popes, ii. 166. go about to re-establish the republican government, 173. after the death of Gregory XI. take violent measures for the election of an Italian pope, and the inthronization of Urban VI. 174.

Barbacan, chief of the Choralmins, invades Palelline,

Barbaroffa, (Airadin) captain of the barbarian corfairs. puts to fea with a confiderable fleet, iv. 23. feizes upon the kingdom of Tunis, and threatens Tripoli with a fiege, 33. his birth and character, ibid. takes upon him the title of king of Algiers and affociates himself with two famous pirates, whom he made his lieutenants, 35. makes war upon the knights of Malta, 36. takes Araichid, fon to Muley Mahomet, into his protection, 37. carries him to Constantinople. and propoles to Solyman the conquest of Tunis, Ibid. returns with an army, and enters Tunis at the head of 9000 Turks, 29. is acknowledged Solyman's viceroy, 40. draws over the petty kings of Afric to his assistance, ibid. prepares to oppose the emperor Charles V. who was marching into Africa, 43. takes the field, 40. is defeated and retires to Tunis, and from thence to the city of Bon, 50, 51. restores Dragut to his post, 100. found dead in his bed, 102.

Barbarossa, (Horruc) causes the king of Algiers to be strangled, and sets himself up in his stead, iv. 34. is Vol. V. Bb besieged

belieged in the capital of his kingdom, vol. iv. page 34. escapes with his treasures by a subterraneous passage, is pursued and forced to light, ibid. is cut to pieces with 1500 of his men, 35.

Barletto and St. Stephen (the priors of) defend themfelves from the imputation of negligence in procuring fuccours for the relief of Rhodes, iii, 241,

Barres (William des) lord of Tiberius, enters into a league with the duke of Venice, and takes the city of Tyre, i. 52.

Beaulieu, or Belver, a religious house of ladies hospitallers, Shjest to the visitation of the grand prior of St. Giles, it. 19. its origin, ibid. the commandress of it takes the title of grand prioress, 20.

Beersheba, rebuilt and fortified by Melesinda queen of Jerusalem, 1. 64.

Bels king of Hungary, reftored to his throne by the affiftance of the knights hospitallers, i. 289.

Belleis, anciently Pelulium, taken from Sannar fultan of Egypt, by Siracon the general of Noradin, i. 113. the fovereignty of it promifed to the hospitallers by Amaury, 117. is belieged, 119. taken and facked, 120. the king restores it to the hospitallers, ibid. they are recalled from it, 122.

Belgrade belieged by Amurath I. and afterwards by his fon Mahomet II. who are obliged to raise the fiege of it, iii. 5, et seq. again belieged by Solyman II. 146. its fituation and fortifications, 147. is taken, 152.

Belle-fontaine, (the bailiff of) commander of the naval army, figualizes himfelf, v. 105.

Belle-garde, (the baron of) although a secular, obtains the grand priory of Auvergne, v. 100.

Bendoedar, defeats Robert count of Artois, i. 306. advanced to the throne by the Mamalukes, 312. makes a bloody war upon the Christians, ibid. takes Jaffa, the caltle of Beaufort, Antioch, and the fortress of Crac, 315. dies of the wounds he received in battle, 320.

i beamled

Bene-

Benedict XI. chosen pope, and dies within eight days,

vol. ii. page 28.

Benedict XII. (pope) writes a letter of complaint to the grand master of St. John, reproaching the negligence of the order, ii. 122. forms the plan of a paval armament, to keep the sea against the insidels, 123. furnishes his quota, and sends them out to sea,

Bernard, a French monk, writes an account of his voy-

age to Jerufalem, i. 12.

Bernard, (St.) preaches up the crusade, i. 73.

Bertrand de Comps, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 287. defeats the Turcom in army,

and dies of his wounds, 200.

Bertrand de Cot, archbishop of Bourdeaux, chosen pope by the secret practice of the king of France and cardinal Duprè, ii. 33. favours the French faction, and the Italians repent of their choice, 34. summons the two grand masters of the templars and the hospitaliers to appear before him, 35. his dissimulation with regard to the affairs of the templars, 40. publishes a general crusade, and annexes plenary indulgences to it, 47. prosecutes the templars in conjunction with the king of France, 71. suppresses the order, 80. is said to have had a share in their estates,

Bertrand de Texis, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 268. re-establishes the emperor's autho-

rity in Palestine, 271. dies, 281.

Bertrand made count of Tripoli, i. 41.

Biandra, (John of) prior of Lombardy, is made general of the Christian sleet, which takes Smyrna, ii.

125. loses that dignity by the arrival of the Dauphin of Viennois, 128. and recovers it by the credit of the grand master de Gozon, 132, gains a complete victory

over the Turks near Embro, ibid.

Blanchfort (Guy of) is ordered to conduct the prince Zizim into France, iii. 91. becomes grand prior of Bb 2

puller in the first like Spring Cold "giver Charles V.

Auvergne, vol. iii. page 102. and afterwards grand master, 137. is recalled to Rhodes, and dies by the

way, 138.

Bobemia, (the grand priory of) restored to the order,
v. 91. the emperor renews his pretentions to it,
93. the affair is concluded to the satisfaction of the

order, 101.

Bobemund, a Norman lord, cuts his coat of arms into crosses, and taking the first himself, distributes the rest among his principal officers, i. 24. resigns his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, and engages in the crusade, 27. takes Antioch, 32. is made prince of the city, and takes up his residence there, 38.

Behemund II. succeeds his father in the government of Antioch, i. 48. marries Alice, the second daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, 55. dies, 58.

Bobemund III. succeeds in the principality of Antioch, i. 129. is excommunicated for adultery, 142. taken prisoner by the prince of Armenia, 200. is set at liberty upon conditions, which he afterwards refused

to observe, ibid.

Boniface VIII. advanced to the popedom, ii. 13. takes the hospitallers and templars into his protection, 14. annexes the abbey of the holy trinity of Venufia to the manse of the grand master, 21. threatens to excommunicate the king of France, unless he will head the army of the crusade, 25. dies of grief, 28.

Borgia, (the cardinal of) a natural fon of Alexander VI. iii. 111. is given as a hostage to Charles VIII. and follows that prince into the kingdom of Naples, ib. is suspected of having poisoned Zizim, 112. raises his fortune above that of the greatest families in Italy,

Tio. Miles A Control

Bosso, commander and chaplain of the order of St. John, is sent to Madrid, iii. 256. returns to Viterbo to give the grand master an account of his negotiation, 257. is sent to Rhodes, 261. is dispatched by the council to the grand master, then in France, 271. passes with him into Spain, ibid. gives Charles V.

an account of the measures that had been taken to regain Rhodes, vol. iii. page 271. is fent into England. 279. is again fent to Rhodes to found the dispositions of the people, 289. the discovery of his project exposes him to great danger, 293, proposes to the grand mafter the conquest of the city of Modon, which he himself goes to view, 294. is sent into Italy to forward the execution of the plan concerning Maka, 296. is entrulted with the instrument of donation, to carry it to the grand mafter, 299, dies by the way, ibid. classes age array a bone yagana iso

Bofio, (brother) is sent into Candia to levy soldiers, and get provisions for the order, iii. 160. engages an able engineer named Gabriel Martinengo, and arrives at Rhodes with his foldiers and provisions, 161. is named to the bishopric of Malra by the emperor, iv. 14. but could not possess it till after the death of

pope Clement VII. 17, et feq.

Botigella, prior of Pila, is victorious against Airadin, iv. 62. deprived of the employment of general of the gallies, 64. returns from his government of Tripoli, and advices the order to give back the place into the emperor shands, 74,

Botoniates, (Nicephorus) dethrones the emperor Michael Ducas, and is himself dethroned by Alexis

Compenus, i. 18.

Boucicault, (the marshal of) contributes to the bad succels of the league against Bajazet, ii. 177. made governor or viceroy of Genoa, 207. lands at Rhodes in his way to Cyprus, ibid. makes fome conquests on the coasts of Syria, 209, consents to the treaty concluded between the grand mafter de Naillac and the king of Cyprus, ibid. again cruises along the coasts of Syria and Palestine with the grand matter, 211. is opposed by the Venetians, 217.

Bourbon, (the constable of) over-runs Italy with his army, and laye fiege to Rome, iii. 285. is flain by a musket fhot, 286, 5 took stu dest battern years sid ... Brandenburgh, (the bailiff of) embraces Lutheranism. and is cited before the council of the order, vol. vi gen, is a randicat to it successione

Brienne, (John of) his character, i. 219. Philip Augustus being defired by the Christians of Palestine to give them a king, causes him to espouse Mary queen of Jerusalem, ibid. arrives at Acre with 200 knights. 226, waltes the frontiers of the country, and is obliged to retire, asks affiltance of pope Innocent III. ibid. prevents the belieging of Acre, with the kings of Hungary and Cyprus, 242. re-establishes the castle of Cesaria, ibid. supported by the crusades, goes to fit down before Damiata, 243. separates himself from the besiegers out of a pique against the legate, 245. assists at the assembly of Terentino, 252. gives his only daughter in marriage to Frede. ric II. and religns in his favour, the authors of that negotiacion, ibid. traverses Europe to promote the crusade, 253. commands the army of pope Honorius III. against his son-in-law, 263, is called to Constantinople to take upon him the regency during the minority of Baldwin of Courtenay; his gallant actions notwithstanding his great age, 281, et feq.

Burfu, the capital of the empire of Bajazet, ii. 175. taken from the Moguls by his fon Joshua, 233.

Air-beg, governor of Egypt, refuses to join with Gazelles, governor of Syria, in his infurrection against Solyman, iii. 142.

Calatrava, defended by the abbot of Fitero and his vaf-

fals, i. 95.

Calipb, the title of Mahomet's successors, i. 9. the suc-

cess of their arms, 10.

Calipb of Egypt, enters into a league with the princes of the crusade, i. 30. deserts his engagements, 32. enters Judea with an army, and invelts Jaffa, 51. his army routed, and his fleet destroyed, ibid, Inches Marine

Calixtus III. (pope) engages the princes of Europe to enter into a league against Mahomet II. for the de-

fence of Hungary, iii. 2.

Camel (Melic-el) sultan of Egypt, calls his brother the sultan of Damascus to his assistance, i. 244. proposes advantageous terms to the Christians, 245. lays their army almost under water by opening the banks of the Nile, 247. makes a truce for eight years with them, ibid. his generosity towards Frederic II. with whom he makes a truce for ten years, 265.

Gampson Gauri, sultan of Egypt, enters into a league with Bajazet against the knights of Rhodes, iii. 126. assists the king of Calecut against the Portuguese, 127. sends certain vessels to sea to make an attempt upon the isle of Lango, which are taken by the order, 128. resolves to augment his naval force, 132. enters into a league with the king of Persia against the Turks, 141. is deseated by Selim, and the empire of the Mamalukes entirely destroyed, ibid.

Canalé, commander of the Venetian fleet, shamefully

abandons the Christians, iii. 27.

Candelissa, lieutenant to Hassan, viceroy of Algiers, his education and character, v. 17. assists in the attack of the peninsula of Malta, ibid. et seq. his behaviour in the siege, 19. is put to slight, 20.

Candia, (the island of) the retreat of the knights of St. John after the taking of Rhodes, iii, 222.

Candia, the capital city of the island of that name, befieged by the Turks, v. 129. the commander Balbiana makes himself master of an important Bastion there, ibid. divers reinforcements arrive thither, 156, 157. is at last taken, 158.

Canea, taken by the Turks, v. 126. unsuccessfully be-

fieged by the Allies, 170. if the to at 122 afterior

Cara Mustapha, appears with the Turkish sleet before the island of Gelves, iv. 251. makes great havock among the Christian ships, 252. lands his troops and lays siege to the fort, 253. takes possession of the place, demolishes the fortifications, and returns to Constantinople, 254. is made general of the land forces

forces in Solyman's expedition against Malta, vol. iv. page 273. appears before the island, and refolves to begin the fiege of the town at the post of Castile. 284, et feq. takes a view of the place from mount Calcara, 286. holds a council of war, 287. refolves upon the fiege of fort St. Elmo, 288, opens his trenches, 290. determines to come before it with all his forces, and give a general affault, 312. is forced to retire, 314, refolves to erect a battery upon mount Calcara, 316. makes another from, 318. and takes the fort, 321 fends an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town to propole a negociation with the grand mafter, v. 4. is disappointed, and orders his troops to invest the castle of St. Angelo, 5. forms a project to cut off the communication of the belieged with the fea, and thut them up on all fides, 8. fails in his delign, 12. fires upon them from all his batteries together, 13. receives fuccours from Algiers, and comes to a long and bloody engagement, 16, et fed. renews the affault, and instead of Algerines, lends on the Janizaries against the besieged, 24. not disheartned with difficulties, 25. calls an extraordinary council of war, and refolves upon a general attack, 28. is repulied, and renews the affault, 20. orders a retreat to be founded upon a miftaken fuppolition of the arrival of the Sicilian fuccours, 32. omits nothing that may promote the carrying on of the fiege, 33. gives the figual for an affault by the general discharge of his batteries, 41. attempts another form, which was his twentieth, but without fuccess, 43. leads on his troops in person against fort St. Michael, 46. refolves as a last struggle to estack the notable city, 50: disappointed in all his projects, 52. raifes the fiege and embarks with preation, 58. lands again with his forces, 59. is defeated and flies to his thips, 62, which to be the lines to

Capfa, a commandery founded by the grand malter Heredia, its 171, whole body is intered in the church there, ibid. but successful out and lours and

อาจากส

Could nople, sya, is made general of the land

Garac, a fortress situated in the entrance of Arabia, vol.

i. page 145, why the sultans of Egypt refuse to give it up to the Christians, 245.

Garracciolo, (Richard) grand prior of Capua, is substituted in place of Heredia, by Urban VI. ii. 178. founds the monastery of St. John at Florence, 170.

Caraffa, (Gregory) is chosen grand master, his first concern, v. 165, et seq. would have entered into a league against the Turks, 166. his death and character, 168.

Caramanian, prince of Cilicia, experiences the fury of

the arms of Amurath II. ii. 235.0 amod a said

Caramandre, (Boniface de) chosen lieutenant general

of the order by pope Boniface IX. ii. 171.

Cardinali, are advised by pope Gregory XI. when at the point of death, to distrust the pretended revelations with which they had been amused, ii. 173. elect Urban VI. through the violence of the bannerets, after taking authentic instruments, 175. elect Clement VII. at Fundi, 177. oblige every new pope to promise to renounce the popedom, 218. assemble a general council at Pisa, ibid. elect Alexander V. 219. elect Martin V. at Constance, after the three competitors had resigned, or been set aside, 228.

Cardinals, make large promises concerning the crusade,

but do not keep them, i. 175.

Cardinal's hat, why refused by the grand master de la Valette, v. 67. is accepted by the grand master de

Verdalle, og and rollin Larry ad yd sabod A A

Caretto, (Fabricius) commander of the language of Italy, diffinguishes himself at the fiege of Rhodes, iii. 60. is made admiral and procurator general of the order at Rome, 137, and at last grand master, 139. holds a general chapter, ibid. makes a league with Ishmael king of Persia, 141, assists Gazelles in his revolt against Solyman II. 143. fortisies Rhodes, 146. his death and character, 147.

Cassiere, (John de la) of the language of Auvergne, grand master, v. 87. a new promotion made in the dignities of the order under his government, ibid.

filences

filences the murmurs of fome knights, vol. v. page go. reflores the priory of Bohemia to the order, 91. oppoles the deligns of the bishop of Malta, 92. demands justice of the pope, who takes cognizance of the affair, ibid. et feq. a conspiracy formed against his life, of which fome knights are accused, 93. the council too rifes against him; upon what pretences, ibid. is suspended from his function, 94. is arrested, or refules to be re-established by force, 96. the king of France promises him his protection, ibid, arrives at Rome, ibid. re-established in his dignity, and dies at Rome, 97. his epitaph composed by Mure-

Caftriot, (Jahn) king of Albany, treats with Amurath 11: to whom he gives his children as holtages, it.

Coleftine III. (pope) publifice a new crusade, i. 195. Coloffine V. (pope) the manner of his election, il. 11.
refigns the papery. 13. indiffratched by ill utage, 14.
Chapters, general ones of the order of St. John, viz.

Chanty eller, beld by the grand mafter de Villane regress coursel as line series erre sire

As Rhodes by the grand mafter de Pins, 147.0

At Rhodes by the lieutenant of the grand mafter be d'Heredia, 178:00 selle ou constitution

At Valence, &c. by the grand master d'Heredia, 169.

At Air by three different priors, 221

At Rhodes by the grand master de Naillac, 232.

At Rhodes by the grand mafter Fluvian, 240.

At Rhodes by the grand mafter de Lastic, 252.

At Rome by the grand master Zacosta, iii. 22. At Rhodes by the grand mafter des Urfins, 35.

At Rhodes by the grand mafter d'Aubusson, 41.

At Nhodes by the grand mafter Caretto, 139. At Viterbo by the grand mafter de l'Isle-Adam, 289. Charles duke of Anjon, lays claim to the kingdom of Jerufalem, i. 310. 1 authored a branches bald about

arles I Aleman de la Roche Chinard, grand prior of St. Giles, employs the profits of his priory in the defence and service of the order of Rhodes, iii. 135. icores. Charles

Ghorles V. (emperor) folicited to grant Malta and Goza for a place of relidence to the knights, vol. iii. page 256. his character 267. orders the revenues of the knights in Italy to be feized, 260. reverfes his order, and promises them the ille of Malta for a fettlement, 270. attempts to feize upon the person of the dutchess of Alencon, who narrowly escapes him, 274. railes a civil war in the pope's territories, 283. keeps the pope a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and orders public prayers to be made for his liberty, 287. grows jealous of the knights of Rhodes, 291. fets the pope at liberty, 293. proposes a marriage between Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, and Alexander de Medicis, 296; grants the ifles and caltles of Tripoli, Malta and Goza, with all their territories and juridictions, as a fief noble, free and frank, to the order of St. John, 298. by a new treaty allows them to export corn from Sicily without duty, and to coin their own money, 305. nominates Thomas Bosio to the bishoprick of Malta, iv. 14. is opposed by the pope, who names cardinal Ghinucci for that employment, 15. takes Muley Haffen, the deprived king of Tunis, into his protection, 41. endeavours to bribe Barbaroffa, and draw him off from Solyman, 42 refolves to murch into Africk at the head of an army, and invites the knights of Make to affelt him, 43. lands his army within cannon shot of the fort of Goletta, 44. and takes it, 46. gives orders to march towards Tunk, ibid. comes to a battle with Barbarolla, and sees the victory, 50. restores Muley Hassen to his throne, and embarks for Europe, 53. sends assistance to him against his rebel subjects, 71. lays siege to Buda, 78. carries his arms again into Africk, and falls upon the dominions of Barbaroffa, Eo. lays fiege to Algiers, 8r. fustains a confiderable loss at fea by a storm, 85. raises the siege, and reimbarks with his forces, 88. is folicited by the knights of Malta, either to put Tripoli into a frate of defence, or give them leave to abandon it, 91. orders Doria to clear

the fea of Dragut, vol. iv. page 101. fends him into Africk to recover the places which Dragut had taken, 106. orders him to go in fearch of Dragut, and fight him at any rate, 122. orders the viceroy of - Sicily to pay extraordinary honours to the grand mafter of Malta, 218. proposes to him to remove the convent to Mehedia, and make it their fettled habitation, 210.

Charles VII. king of France, ashifts the king of Hun-

gary against the Turks, iii. 3.

Charles VIII. king of France, refuses to give up Zizim to his brother Bajazet, iii. 104. interests himself in Zizim's prefervation, with a view to his own advantage, 106. raifes a confiderable army, which frights the pope and the Italians, 108. passes the Alps, and enters Italy without any opposition, 110. accomodates matters with the pope, 111. invites the grand mafter of Rhodes to confult with him upon his dedefign of invading Greece, 112. lays alide the project, and returns into his own dominions, 114.

Charlotte de Lufignan, lays claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, iii. 8. is obliged to quit her dominions, and retire to Rhodes, 11. has still an interest in the isle of Cyprus, 38. her adherents driven out of the

country, ibid. Com as a same of the Chateau-neuf, (John de) commander of Usez, gives up to the order certain isles, of which he was bailiff,

La iii. 7. 2000 a.

Chatillon, (Renaud de) a foldier of fortune, privately marries the princess of Antioch, i. 145. a severe enemy to the Mahometans, 146. taken prisoner by the infidels, 163. his behaviour at his death, 164.

Christians, entirely expelled out of Palestine, i. 326. Church of St. Mary ad Latinos built at Jerusalem, and

Supplied by Benedictine monks, i. 13.

Civita-Vecchia, the grand master de l'Isle-Adam is obliged to retire thither with the remains of his order, iii. 246. Clement VII. consents that the vesfels of the order remain in the harbour, 254.

Claude de la Sangle, commands the gallies of the order against Dragut, vol. iv. page 107. reconciles the differences of the Christian generals, 110. erects an hospital in his tent for the cure of the sick soldiers, 114. elected grand master of Malta, 216. arrives in Sicily, and is honourably received by the viceroy, 217. lands in Malta, and is established in his authority, 220. gives audience to the emperor's embassador in full council, ibid. et seq. adds new fortifications to the fort of St. Elmo, the isle of St. Michael, and the town of Malta, 228. repairs the gallies that had been disabled by the storm, 230. dies, 234.

Clement III. (pope) nominates William archbishop of Tyre to be legate of the holy see, i. 176.

Glement V. chosen pope by intrigue, ii. 28. et seq. his character, 30. his agreements with Philip the fair, 31. his coronation at Lyons, 32. finits thrown up to him, 34. forms the project of a crusade, and orders the two grand masters to attend him, 35. communicates two important memorials to the grand master of the templars, 30. publishes a crusade for the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, 46, et feq. grants several favours to the grand master of the hospitallers, 48. complains to Philip the fair of the impriforment of the templars, and procures them to be restored to their offices, 68. what measures he takes with that prince for their judgment, and examines some of them himself, 71. engages the other princes of Christendom to cause arrest them, 72. calls the council of Vienna, in which he declares the ororder extinct, 78 causes adjudge their effects to the knights of Rhodes, whom he promises to reform, 81. refers the judging of the grand mafter and the chief officers to two cardinals, 83. dies forty days after the execution of the templars, 86.

Clement VI. (pope) publishes a new crusade, ii. 123.

Clement VII. nephew of Leo X. and successor of Adrian VI. his birth, his dignities, his intrigues to arrive at the popedom, iii. 249; et seq. his affection for the order of St. John, of which he had been a knight, Vol. V.

vol. iii. page 252. assigns to the knights the city of Viterbo for their relidence, and gives the grand mafter great marks of diffinction, 254, the latter propoles to him different projects for the establishment of his order, ibid. et feq the pope pitches on the isle of Malta, 255, approves the grand master de l'Isle Adam's voyage into Spain, 269. becomes chief of the holy league; its fatal consequences to Italy, and himself in particular, 284. is made prisoner by the emperor, 286. the arrival of marshal de Lautree with a confiderable army, determines the emperor to fet him at liberty, 291, et feg. conditions of the treaty, after which he escapes by night in the habit of a merchant, 293. makes a treaty with the emperor; the conditions of it, 208. obtains from the emperor a donation of the ifles of Malta and Goza, and the city of Tripoli, in favour of the order of St. John, ibid. to whom he procures the peaceable possession of them, 300, et seg, nominates the cardinal Chinucci to the bishopric of Malta, and sustains his nomination, iv. 15. his gallies contribute to the taking of Coron, 18. and to the defence of it the year following, 21.

Cogni, or Iconium, (the sultan of) defends the city of Nice against the crusades, i. 29. treats with Alexis Comnenus, who sends him back his wife and children who had been made prisoners at the taking of that place, ibid. cuts in pieces the army of the christians, and implores the assistance of the neighbouring sultans, 30. ravages the county of Edessa, and takes young Courtenay prisoner, 79. is routed by the hospitallers, 223. is slain in battle by the hand

of Theodore Lalcaris, 278.

Coimbra, (the duke of) marries the heires of Cyprus, and is poisoned by his mother-in-law's nurse, iii. 8.

the confequences of his death, o.

Colonna, (Pompey) supplanted in the conclave by Julius de Medicis, his rival, iii. 249. deprived of his cardinal's hat by the person become pope, 284. solicites Alarçon to put him to death in prison, 288.

Com-

Commanders fall into great remissines, vol. ii. page 1111.

the remedy which the chapter applies to it, 112.

most of them clude the orders of the grand master,
138. are ordered to maintain knights newly received, 242. some of them complain of the augmentation of the responsions, 253. which they are at last obliged to pay, 256.

Commendataria, and commandery, their original mean-

ing, i. 311.

Comnenus, (Emmanuel, or Manuel) brother-in-law of the emperor Conrad, betrays his army to the infidels, i. 75. makes a treaty with Amaury king of Jerusalem for the conquest of Egypt, 115, furnishes money for that purpose, 118. his fleet lost, 122. his affection for the Latins causes great troubles, 143.

Gomnenus, (Andronicus) brother of Manuel, caules strangle his nephew Alexis II. and seizes on the empire, i. 211. Isaac Angelus puts him to a cruel death,

ibid.

Comnenus, (Theodore) seizes on Epirus and Albania, i. 278. arrests Peter de Courtenay, and puts him to death, 271. takes several places from Robert his son, ibid.

Comps, (Bertrand de) grand master of the hospitallers, dies of his wounds which he receives in a battle a-

gainst the Turcomans. i. 29.

Comps, (Arnauld de) a gentleman of Dauphine, is chofen third grand master of the hospitallers, i. 100.

Conrad, emperor of Germany, undertakes an expedition to the holy land, i. 75. returns without success,

Genrad, fon to the marquis of Montferrat, defends Tyre against Saladine, i. 171. refuses to acknowledge Guy de Lusignan, and assists him against the insidels, i. 182. marries Isabel the youngest daughter to the late king of Jerusalem, and lays claim to the crown, 184. stabbed by two assassins, and slayed alive. 192.

Genrad, fon of the emperor Frederic II. and Yolant, only daughter of John de Brienne, is supported in the succession to the kingdom of Jerusalem, in spite of the pretentions of Alice, vol.i. page 269. et seq. whose son Henry I. of Lusignan receives from pope Honorius III. the title of king, to his prejudice, 297.

Confervator, (grand) a dignity of the order annexed to

the language of Arragon, iii. 14.

Confiance, daughter to Bohemund II. succeeds her father in the principality of Antioch, i. 59. married to Raymond count of Poitiers, 63.

Conftant, king of Armenia, gains a victory over the Saracens, by the assistance of the knights of Rhodes,

11. 133.

Constantinople, a sedition in that city against the Latins, i. 143. the crusaders make themselves masters of it, and re-establish Isaac Lange, who had been dethroned by his brother Alexis, 213. they again seize on the traitor Murzulphle, and the same Alexis, 215. and make Baldwin count of Flanders emperor of it, 216.

Corasmins, invade Palastine, and commit great ravages, i. 283. make themselves masters of Jerusalem, 285. and gain a complete victory over the Christians, ibid. diffensions arise among them, and they destroy one

another, 288.

Corcut, second son of Bajazet II. is set on the throne, iii. 79. his character, 140. is strangled by order of the sultan Selim his brother, 141.

Corinth taken and pillaged by the gallies of the order,

V. 102.

Corna, (Ascanio de la) is of opinion that assistance should be sent to the knights of Malta, v. 36. is made major-general of the army that was to have been sent thither, 55. is of opinion that they should wait the approach of the enemy, who had landed, 60. what share he has in the victory, 62, et seq.

Cornara, (Catharine) marries the Bastard de Lusignan,

Cornillan, (Peter de) grand master, his character, ii.
139. reforms several abuses, ibid. replies to pope Innocent

nocent VI. about abandoning the ifle of Rhodes, vol. ii. page 143. dies, 144.

Coron belieged and taken by the confederate army, v.

Correa, a Portuguese knight of Malta murdered by the other knights, v. 89.

Cosino, duke of Florence, institutes the order of St. Stephen, iv. 154. kills his younger son Garsia with his own hand, for having murdered his elder son John, 256. endeavours to divert the thoughts of his mission to business, 257. orders his knights to join the gallies of the knights of Malta, wherever they should meet with them, ibid.

Cos, or Lango, (the island of) its extent and situation, ii. 55. is fortified, 56. the commander of that island is obliged to maintain 25 knights, 179.

Coteledin, made fultan of Mosul, i. 71.

Gotoner, (Raphael) distinguishes himself in a sea fight, v. 124. is chosen grand master, 146. ser ds the gallies of the order to the assistance of the Venetians in the isle of Candia, 147. marks of his esteem for brother Paul, a serving brother, 149. and of his pious liberality, ibid. dies, his character and epitaph, 150.

Cotoner, (Nicholas) brother of Raphael, is chosen grand master, v. 151. Lewis XIV. demands of him the assistance of the gallies of the order, 152. procures the grand priory of Crato in Portugal to be restored to the order, 158. fortifies the isle of Malta, after the taking of Candia, ibid. takes measures for getting up a considerable succession in Poland, 161. sends assistance to the viceroy of Sicily, ibid. settles a fund for the maintenance of the fortress of Riccasoli, ibid. enters into the designs of the king of Poland, ibid. resuses to take part in the wars of the Christians, 162, his death, his character and epitaph, 164.

Coucy, (the fire de) one of the principal lords in the French army, ii. 176. gains some advantages over the Turks, 180, et seq. is made prisoner at the castle

of Nicopoli, 183.

Council

Canneil of Nazareth, where Alexander III. is acknowledged, and the antipope Victor is excommunicated,

vol. i. page 103.

Gouncil third of the Lateran, called by Alexander III. for the defence of the holy land, i. 137. the prelates of Palestine assist there, and renew their complaints against the privileges of the hospitallers and templars, ibid. a regulation made on that subject, 138. and a decree in favours of leprous persons, 139.

Council fourth of the Lateran, called by Innocent III. in which it is unanimously agreed on to form a cru-

fade, i. 233.

Council of Lyons, called by Innocent IV. for the deliverance of the holy land, i. 290. Gregory X. calls another for the same purpose, 318.

Council of Vienne in Dauphiny, where the order of the

templars is declared extinct, ii. 18.

Council of Pifa, ii. 218.

Council of Constance, called by John XXII. ii. 227.

what passed there, ibid. et seq.

Courtenay, (Jocelin I. de) succeeds his kinsman Baldwin II. in the county of Edessa, i. 41. is taken prisoner by Balac a Turcoman prince, 50. escapes out of prison, and gains a complete victory over Balac, whom he kills with his own hand, 53, et seq. an elogium of his valour, 71.

Courtenay, (Joselin II. de) fon of Joselin I. loses a part of his dominions by his effeminacy, i. 71. is taken prisoner by the sultan of sconium, and dies in prison,

79

Gourtenay, (Peter de) a prince of the blood royal of france, succeeds to the empire of Constantinople, i. 270. is treacherously arrested by Theodore Comnenus, who puts him to death, 271. is succeeded by Robert his second son, in prejudice of the eldest, ibid.

Gourtenay, (Robert de), succeeds his father, in prejudice of Philip his elder brother, i. 271. the enemies which he has to engage, ibid. his passion for

a young lady occasions his death, 280.

Courte-

Courtenay, (Baldwin de) succeeds his father Robert at the age of ten years, under the regency of John de Brienne, vol. i. page 280. traverses the different kingdoms of christendom to implore assistance, 281.

Crato, (the grand priory of) in Portugal, a difference that arose concerning it, is wisely terminated by the

grand master de l'Isle Adam, iii. 276.

Grocodile, or serpent, a huge one slain by Dieudonné de-Gozon, ii. 116. a description of its head, 118. a monster like it slain by the Roman legions in Africa, 119. the proof of these facts, ibid.

Cross, a red one on the right shoulder, ordered by the council of Clermont, to distinguish the crusades, i.

21.

Cross, a red one over the heart, added by Eugenius III.

to the habit of the templars, i. 57.

Gross of white linen cloth with eight points, fixed abovethe regular habit of the hospitallers, over the heart, i. 38.

Crofs, the true one, carried to battle, i. 163. taken at the battle of Tiberius, ibid. detained by Melic-el-ca-

mel fultan of Egypt, contrary to treaty, 247.

Grufade, (the first) projected by Peter the Hermit, i. 17: and resolved on in the councils of Placentia and Clermont, 21. the different motives by which the crusaders were animated, 22. the names of the principal persons concerned in it, 23. what hindered feveral princes from joining them, 24. their general meeting, ibid. the review of all the troops in the plains of Constantinople, 27. they beliege and take Nice, 29. are betrayed by Alexis Comnenus, 30. make a league with the calif of Egypt, 31. Subdue Natolia and Cilicia, ibid: take Antioch by means of intelligence obtained by Bohemund, 32. arrive in a pretty small number at Jerusalem, and form the fiege of it, 33. gain the place, and make a great flaughter, 35. immediately show the most christian fentiments, ibid. give the fovereignty of that place to Godfrey, who refuses the title of king, 36. the greatest part of them return into Europe, 38. CruCrusade, (the second) solicited by Baldwin III. vol. i. page 72. Lewis VII. demands the publication of it from pope Eugenius, iii. 73. St. Bernard preaches it up by order of the pope; the success of his exhortations, 76, et seq. two hundred thousand men and upwards perish in it, 77.

Grusade, (the third) solicited by Amaury, i. 127. and afterwards by Baldwin IV. 148. the unaccountable and passionate behaviour of the patriarch Heraclius, who was ordered to negotiate it, hinders its success,

ibid. et seq.

Crusade, (the fourth) raised against Saladin after the battle of Tiberius, i. 175. Philip II. king of France, and Henry II. king of England, take up the cross, likeways the emperor Frederic I. 176. what hinders Spain from imitating these princes, 170. private crusades go before and beliege Acre, 182. famine and pestilence afflict the army of the beliegers, 183. Frederic arrives gloriously in Cilicia, where he dies, 185. his fon leads his army, then confiderably weakened, to Acre, ibid. the king of France arrives there also, and waits for Richard the son of Henry king of England, in order to begin the affault, 188. the latter repairs thither after the conquest of the isle of Cyprus, 189. jealoufy arises between the French and English, 191. the place, after a siege of three years, capitulates, 192. Richard takes Jaffa and Afcalon, makes a truce with the infidels, and returns into Europe, where the king of France was arrived long before, 193, et feq.

Crusade, (the fifth) published by Celestine III. notwithstanding the truce concluded by Richard king of England, i. 195. is composed almost wholly of

Germains, ibid. its consequences, ibid.

Crusade, (the fixth) formed by the discourse of Fulkcurate of Neuilly, i. 208. the crusaders agree with the Venetians to be by them transported into Syria, ibid. take Zara in Dalmatia, according to their agreement with the Venetians, 210. re-establish Isaac Angelus, Angelus, by taking Constantinople, vol. i. page 272. seize a second time on the traitor Murzulphle, 215. and chuse Baldwin count of Flanders for emperor, 216.

Grusade, (the seventh) solicited by John de Brienne at his coming to the crown, i. 227. and resolved on at the fourth council of the Lateran under Innocent III. 233. the names of the principal crusaders, 234, who, in concert with the king of Jerusalem, beliege Damiata, 242. a new reinforcement arrives from Italy, having at its head cardinal Albano the pope's legate, 244. the infidels make advantageous propofals, which the legate perfuades the Christians to reject, 245, et feq. the king of Jerusalem parts from the crusaders, 246. the taking of Damiata, 247. the army advances into the middle of Egypt, is almost laid under water by the opening of the fluices of the Nile, and makes a disadvantageous truce, ibid. is dispersed, ibid.

Crusade, (the eighth) resolved on at the first council of Lyons, called by Innocent IV. i. 290. Lewis IX. is

the chief of it, ibid.

Crusade, (the ninth) resolved on at the second council of Lyons, i. 318. the names of the principal crufaders, 319.

Crusade against the Albigenses, published by pope Innocent III. is prejudicial to that of the holy land, the bettle of the visco

1. 225.

Crusade, one published by Clement V. for the conquest of the ifle of Rhodes, ii. 46. the general meeting at Brindifi, 47. the crusaders arrive in the harbour of Limisso, 48. land in Rhodes, 51. are dispersed; 52. Cyprus, (the ifle of) its fituation, and the succession of some and the compact of the compact of the

its kings, ii. 2. to a strain a section of the contract of the c

this private desiral fecability to

defection of the state of the s Aber, fultan of Egypt, advanced to the throne by the Mamalukes, ii. 237, declares war against Janus de Lufignan, king of Cyprus, ibid. gains a victory over him, and takes him prisoner, 238. accepts

of a ransom, and sets him at liberty, vol. ii. page 239. renews the treaty which his predecessor had made with the knights of Rhodes, but with a fraudulent view, ibid. suspends the execution of his design against Rhodes, 248. put to sea a considerable seet, and lays claim to the island, as formerly dependent on the empire of Egypt, ibid. makes an attempt upon Rhodes, but without success, 246. designs to surprise the isle of Lango, and is prevented, 247. lands a considerable seet in the island, and lays siege to the city, 251. his troops always repulsed, and retire to their ships with loss, ibid.

Damascus besieged without success, i. 76.

Damiata belieged by the Christians, i. 243. carried by

affault, 247.

Dandol, (Henry) doge of Venice, his character, i. 208. procures the transportation of the crusaders, 209. retakes Zara in Dalmatia, 210. his talents displayed at the taking of Constantinople, 213. the re-establishment of Isac Angelus, ibid. and the election of Baldwin count of Flanders for emperor, 216.

Daps, (Ermengard) grand malter, is in a very dismal

fituation, i. 165. his death, 193.

Daquin, (Thomas) one of the emperor's lieutenants, gives him advice of the pope's proceedings against him, i. 262.

Dardanelles, (the battle of the) v. 135. a second battle

there, 136.

Dartal, (Don Pedro) gives the city of Borgia, with its dependencies, to the hospitallers and templars, i.

Debts, private ones which the hospitallers leave at their death, how paid, ii. 10.

Decretals, false ones, their author, i. 205. Innocent III.

prejudiced in their favours, ibid.

BOTH STATE OF THE STATE OF STATE OF THE STAT

De la Roche-Aimond, (the commander) determines the grand master to attempt the recovery of Rhodes, iii. 259. introduces certain Rhodian merchants to the grand

grand master in disguise to consult upon the undertaking, vol. iii. page 260.

Denys, king of Portugal, institutes the order of Christ, ii. 94.

Defmoulins, (Roger) elected grand master of the hospitallers, i. 40. slain in battle, 159.

Didier de St. Jaille, prior of Toulouse, chosen grand master of Malta, iv. 55. dies, 63.

Dieu-donne de Gozon, delivers the isle of Rhodes from a terrible serpent, which destroyed its inhabitants, ii. 117. is deprived of the habit of the order of St. John, for having disobeyed the orders of the grand master, ibid. is restored and advanced to honours, 118. stands candidate for the office of grand master, and recommends himself in a speech to the electors, 131. is chosen to the satisfaction of the whole island of Rhodes, 132. behaves with courage and conduct in the execution of his office, ibid. refuses to engage in the civil wars which raged in the empire of Constantinople, 137. offers to abdicate, but is not permitted by the pope, 138. fortifies the city of Rhodes, and dies, ibid.

Dignities of the order annexed to certain languages, iii. 14. the principal ones, ibid. et feq.

Dignities of the order annexed to a certain number of years actual relidence in the principal house of the order. ii. 111.

Differtation on the government of the order of Malta, v. 204, et seq. on Zizim, v. 254, et seq.

Doldekuvin, a Turcoman prince, makes incursions into the territories of Antioch, i. 54.

Doria, (Andrew) commander of the emperor's fleet, takes Coron, iv. 18, et seq. and defends it the following year against the Turks, 22. commands the emperor's squadron in the expedition of Africa, 45. in concert with the grand prior Strozzi defeats the Ottoman army, 65. is made generalissimo of the christian sleet sent against Solyman, 76. what motives induced him to leave the service of France, and apply to Charles V. ibid. occasions the bad success of the

league,

league, vol. iv. page 78. dissuades the emperor from a second expedition into Africa, 80. receives orders

to pursue Dragut, 101.

. sumant

Doria, (Jannetin) nephew of Andrew, takes Dragut prisoner, and releases him four years after, at the solicitation of the Genoese, iv. 101, 102. has a great share in the taking of Africa, 107. gives chace to Dragut, but to no purpose, 122.

Doria, (John Andrew) offers to affilt Malta, v. 15. again proposes the same thing, but without success, 35. confers with the grand master at Malta, 98. Douan Diodar, envoy from the sultan of Egypt, con-

Douan Diodar, envoy from the fultan of Egypt, concludes a peace with the knights of Rhodes, iii. 46.

Dragut, chief of the cerfairs in Barbary, his birth and education, iv. 100. taken priloner by young Doria, 101. demanded of him by the Genoese, and sent back with prefents to Barbaroffa, 102. over-runs all the coalts of the kingdom of Naples, ibid. drives the Spaniards out of leveral towns in Africa, and forms a defign of feizing upon Mohedia, 103. gets polleffion of it by treachery, 106. prepares against the enemies attacks, 111. defigns to fall upon their lines and is discovered, 115. is defeated, 117. follicits So-Iyman to drive the knights of Malia out of Africa. 120. is purfued by Doria, and escapes him, 122. fails to Constantinople to halten the fitting out of the fleet deligned against Tripoli, 123. returns with the Turkish sleet to Malta, 122. advises the slege of the caltle of St. Angelo, 135. prevails upon Sinan to lay fiege to the city of Malta, 136. perfuades him to agree to the conditions propoled by the governor of Tripoli, 157. lands in Malta, and ravages the country, but is forced to retire haltily to his thips, 231. is made governor of Tripoli, and fortifies the town, 239, makes the petty lovereigns in the ille of Gelves subject to the port, 242. joins the Turkish fleet before Malta with confiderable succours, 293. his character and abilities, ibid proposes the erecting of a new battery, but is opposed by Mustapha, 294. prevents the landing of the Sicilian fuccours,

vol. iv. page 299. is forely wounded by the fall of a stone upon his head, 316. dies, 321.

Ducas, (Michael) emperor of Constantinople, dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates, i. 18.

Ducro, grand cross of the order, one of the ring-leaders of the sedition against the grand master de la Cassiere, v. 95.

Duisson, (Godsfrey of) grand master, i. 193. solicits the crusaders to march straight to Jerusalem, after the taking of Acre, ibid. negotiates the marriage of Isabella queen of Jerusalem, with Amaury of Lusignan king of Cyprus, 195. his death, 196. why there is so little known concerning his government, ibid.

Du Mefnil, a templar, stabs the envoy from the prince of the assassing in direct opposition to public saith, i. 133. is protected by Odo de St. Amand grand master of the order, ibid. is forcibly carried off by the king of Jerusalem, and thrown into prison at Tyre, fibid.

Dupuy, (Raimond) a gentleman of Dauphine, grand master of the hospitallers, i. 42. draws up particular statutes for his order, and at the same time renders it military, 43. divides it into three classes, 44. and seven languages, 45. offers his service to the king of Jerusalem, 47. and gives signal proofs of his courage, 50. is sent into Spain to procure the execution of the will of Alphonsus the great, 68. accompanies Baldwin III. to the siege of Ascalon, and distinguishes himself there, 81. dies at a great age, his character, 101. is revered as a saint, ibid.

' broat of layin given to sirange lind. Messer, mean is t'ance "press at a review with na

Edward II. king of England, causes the effects of the templars to be given to the hospitallers, ii. 95.

Edward VI. son of Henry VIII, and Jape Seimour his

third wife, succeeds his father, iv. 206. embraces the doctrine of the protestants, ibid. his death, Ma-Vol. V. Dd ry eldelt daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, succeeds him, vol. iv. page 206.

Egyptian fleet attempt to relieve Alcalon by sea, i. 82.

Egypt forely afflicted with a famine, i. 202.

Egypt, (the calif of) fuffers the Christians to fettle in Jerusalem, and assigns them a quarter there, i. 11. joins the crusaders against the Turcomans, 30. is chief of the lect of Aly, or the Fathimites, ibid. retakes Jerusalem from the Turcomans, and prepares himself to sustain the siege of it against the crusaders, 32. belieges Jaffa, 51. the luxury of his fucceffors, 110. one of them refuses to give his bare hand to a christian embassador, 113. Saladine extinguishes the whole lect of them, 125.

Egypt, (the fultan of) makes a treaty with the order, ii. 216. Daher declares war against James king of Cyprus, 237, and defeats him, 238, caules attack Rhodes with a fleet, which is obliged to retire, 246. again milcarries in the same attempt, 251. makes

peace with the order, 253.

Egypt, (the fulian of) grants the Bastard de Lusignan the investiture of the kingdom of Cyprus, ili. 11, renews the treaties of peace with the order, 46. Campfon Gauri makes a league with Bajazet against the order, 126. protects the Arabian princes when attacked by Emanuel king of Portugal, 128. the order takes considerable prizes from his subjects, 130. and defeats his fleet in the port of Aiazza, 135. makes a league with Ishmael king of Persia, and the grand malter Caretto, against Selim, 141. who defeats him, and strips him of his dominions, ibid. the government of Egypt given to Cairbeg, ibid.

Eleanor, queen of France, appears at a review with an army of ladies, whom she carries to the holy war, i. 74. falls in love with Saladine, a converted Turk,

76.

Electors of the grand master, how they ought to be chosen, ii. 153. how they prepare themselves for the election, 244.

Emanuel, king of Portugal, makes war upon Naubraderin king of Calecut, vol. iii. page 127.

Embre, a little island, where the Turks are defeated, ii.

132.

Emery d' Amboise elected grand master of the order of Rhodes, iii. 123. takes leave of the king of France, and repairs to Rhodes, 124. calls a general chapter, and makes feveral regulations for the supporting of discipline, and settling a good order in the administraation of the revenue, 126. refolves to oppose the new rmament of the fultan of Egypt, which was feen in the gulph of Aiazzo, 133. fits out a fleet under the command of the chevalier Villiers de l'Isle Adam, ibid. employs the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in relieving the poor, or in making fortificati, ons at Rhodes, 136. his death, ibid.

Emirs, or Soldans, their authority, and the abuse that they make of it, i. 10, 110. Togrulbeg declares

himself the chief or sultan of them, 15-

Empire, (the Roman) declines upon the death of Theodosius the Great, i. 2. the Greeks, their milerable state at the time of the commencement of the holy war. 18.

Emposia, (the castellary of) a considerable dignity of the order of St. John, and the first in Europe next

to that of the grand master, ii. 180.

England, the alteration in religions there upon the death of king Henry VIII. iv. 206. and Edward VI. ibid.

Erizzo, the Venetian proveditor in the isle of Negropont, defends it courageously against Mahomet, iii. 27. furrenders to the fultan on express of parole of the latter, who causes him to be sawn asunder, 23.

Erizzo, (Anne) daughter of the proveditor, a lady of distinguished beauty, resists the solicitations of Mahomet, who strangles her in cold blood, iii. 28.

Ermengard Daps, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 165. his death, 193.

Eugenius III. causes the second crusade to be preached Dda ... Last they by St. Bernard, i. 72.

INDEX.

Europe, its state at the beginning of the holy war, vol. i. page 23, 24.

Eustace Garnier, constable of Palestine, defeats the army of the calif of Egypt, i. 51.

F

Pabricio Caretto elected grand master of the knightsof Rhodes, iii. 139, calls a general chapter, and makes sit regulations for the defence of the order, ib. enters into a league with the king of Persia against the Turks, 141. assists Gazelles, the governor of Syria, against Solyman, 143. dies, 147.

Facardin, prince of the Druli, implores the allistance of

the order, v. 104.

Famagusta, a city of the isle of Cyprus, taken by the Genoese, ii. 206.

Fathimites, a dynasty of Mahometans, their original,

i. 100.

Ferdinand d'Heredia, castellan of Emposta, chosen grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 158. his family and education, ib. 159. sent embassador to the pope by the grand master and council of Rhodes, 161. made prior of Catalonia, 162. appointed mediator by his holiness between the kings of France and England, 163. declared governor of Avignon and the Comtè Venaissin, 165. conveys pope Gregory XI, from Avignon to Rome, 170. lays siege to Patras, 171. makes an attempt against Corinth, 171. and is taken prisoner, 172. ransomed and declares in favours of pope Clement VII 180. comes to Rhodes and takes possession of his dignity and government, ibid. his piety and care of the order, 170. his death, and character, 171.

Ferdinand, king of Naples, abandons his kingdom to Charles VIII. ili. 112. enters into a league against

that prince, 114.

Ferentino, a city of the compagne di Roma, where there is a famous affembly held for the deliverance of the Holy Land, i. 252.

Fieux

Fieux en Quercy, a honse of the nuns hospitallers, afterwards reunited to that of Beau-lieu, vol. ii. page 19. Fitero in Navarre (the abbot of) accompanied by one

of his monks, causes the Moors raise the siege of

Calatrava, i. 95.

Florentines, make war on pope Gregory XI. who excommunicates them, ii. 197. the bull is revoked at the requelt of St. Catharine of Siena, 168.

Florentines, enter into the holy league, iii, 1283. drive the family of Medicis out of their territories, 287.

Eluvian (Anthon) grand master, his different dignities, ii. 233. assists the king of Cyprus, 238. and prepares to sustain the attacks of the sulvans of Egypt, 239. holds a general chapter, 249. forbids the knights to go to Rome without express permission, 243. builds a magnificent infirmary at Rhodes, 244. his death, ibid.

Forcalquier (Guy count of) brings great riches into

the order of the hospitallers, i. 93.

Foucher, patriarch of Jerusalem, opposed the exemptions granted by pope Anastasius IV. to the order of St. John, i. 88. takes a journey to Rome to procure the repeal of them from pope Adrian IV. 91.

Rrance, a great many lords and gentlemen of that kingdom repair to Messina, to pass from thence to Malta, during the siege, v. 57: likeways to the isle of Candia, to the assistance of the Venetians, 156.

Franciscans (the European) are driven from the holy places by the Greek schismatics, v. 127. a method proposed by the order, to settle them there again, ibid.

Francis I. king of France, his character and pretentions, iii. 266. taken prifoner by the emperor, ibid. guarded as a state criminal, 272. obtains his liberty, 275.

Frederick I. emperor of Germany, enters into the cru-

sade, i. 179. dies, 185.

Frederick II. emperor of Germany, is persuaded by pope Honorious III. to undertake the expedition into the Holy Land, i. 252. marries the princess of D d 3 Jerusalem.

Jerufalem, and obliges her father to abdicate the government, vol. i. page 252. puts off his voyage for two years, 255. is excommunicated by pope Gregory IX. 256. defends his conductin a letter to all the fovereign princes of Christendom, 257. the Roman barons take up arms in his favour, 259. he commits great ravages upon the patrimony of St. Peter, 260. arrives in the Holy Land, 261. prevails upon the hofpitallers and templars to join his army, marches to Jaffa, and reftores the fortifications, 262, makes a truce with the fultan of Egypt, and returns into Italy, 265, drives the pope's generals out of most of the places they had feized during his absence, 266. fubmits to the pope and is absolved, 267. persecutes the two orders of the hospitallers and templars, ib. fends a body of German troops into Palestine against the princes Alice, who laid claim to the crown in his absence, 270. laments the miseries of Palestine in a letter to Richard earl of Cornwall. 287.

Fulk, count of Anjou, distinguished by his behaviour against the insidels, it 54. his family and marriage; 55. returns into France, ib. comes back to Jerusalem, and marries Melesinda, the eldest daughter to king Baldwin, 59. succeeds Baldwin in the throne of Jerusalem, ib. undertakes an expedition to Antioch, 61. and secures the government to Constance, the daughter of Bohemund II. 62. killed by a fall

from his horse, 70.

Fulk, incumbent of Neutlli, his advice to Richard L. king of England, i. 178. procures a new erusade,

208.

. miliheri

Fulk de Villaret, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, ii. 38. sollicits the pope and the king of France to assist the hospitallers in the conquest of Rhodes, 41. returns to Cyprus, and enters upon the expedition, 48. makes a descent upon the island, 51. lays siege to the town, 52. and takes it, 53. reduces the neighbouring isles to his obedience, 55. puts the town of Rhodes in a good state of desence, 56. becomes idle and luxurious, 99. is summoned by the order

order to appear in council, and give an account of his administration, vol. ii. page 100. a conspiracy formed against him, 101. is deposed, and appeals to the holy see, ii. 102. the cause heard at Avignon, 104. is, re-established in all the functions of his dignity, 126. abdicates his office, and dies, ibid.

G

Abriel Martinengo, an excellent engineer, undertakes the defence of Rhodes in conjunction with the knights of the order, vol. iii. page 161. takes upon him the cross, 163. his vigilance and care in defence of the town, ibid. and loses an eye in the

fervice, 205.

Gabriel d'Aramon, undertakes to divert Sinan from laying siege to Tripoli, iv. 147. arrives at the Turkish sleet, has an audience of Sinan, and finds his design impracticable, 150. is not permitted to return 'till the siege was ended, 151. obtains the liberty of the knights that were made prisoners in Tripoli by Sinan, 165. sails to Malta, and acquaints the grand master with what had happened, 166. is falsly charged with having betrayed the order, and given up Tripoli to the insidels, 168. demands an audience, and defends himself in full council, 169. proceeds on his voyage to Constantinople, ibid. his honour vindicated in a letter from the council of Malta. to the king of France, 177.

Galeran, bishop of Berytus, lays before the council of Lyons an account of the invasion of Palestine by the

Corasmins, i. 159.

Galilee, almost wholly conquered by Godfrey, i. 40. Tancred is made governor of it, ibid.

Gallies, the order fits out a fixth, v. 109. and after-

wards a feventh, 131.

Galleon, a magnificent one built at Amsterdam for behoof of the order, v. 104. is brought to Marseilles, 106.

Gargallo, bishop of Malta, one of the ring-leaders of

the diforders raised against the grand master de la Cassiere, vol. v. page 91. pretends to make a judicial visitation of the hospital of the notable city, 92. the affair is referred to the pope, before whom he goes to defend his conduct, ibid. draws the Jesuits to Malta, 100.

Garnier, (Eustace) lord of Sidon and Cesaria, and constable of Palestine, obliges the Saracens to raise the siege of Jassa, i. 51. attacks the garrison of Ascalon; when di persed for plunder, ibid.

Garnier, grand prior of England, chosen grand master

of the order of St. John, i. 159.

Garzes (Martin) of the language of Arragon, is chosen grand master, v. 100. an idea of his government, ibid. makes a decree in favours of the Swiss, 101, causes fortify Goza, ibid. his death, ibid.

Gafi, a Turcoman prince, engages with his neighbours to attack the Christians, and invade the territories

of Antioch, i. 48.

Gaspard de Valier, marshal of the order of Malta, commands in Tripoli, and refuses to surrender the town to the Turks, iv. 149. prepares himself for the sege by receiving the sacrament, 153. calls a council of war, 154. dispatches the commander Copier to quells the mutiny which had arose among his own soldiers, 155. is obliged by the council to submit to necessity, and offer a capitulation, 156. upon his signing the treaty makes a visit to Sinan, and is injuriously made a prisoner and put in irons, 159. his behaviour in eaptivity, 160. is set at liberty and brought to Malta, is wrongfully accused and prosecuted by the grand master, and his destruction resolved upon, 165. et seq. his sentence, 177. his reputation vindicated, 280. restored to his liberty and honours, 239.

Gastineau, commander of Limeges, takes a considerable

prize from the sultan of Egypt, iii. 131.

Gaftur, choien grand mafter of the order of St. John,

Gattilufio, prince of Lellos, is attacked by Mahomet II.

and affifted by the order, vol. iii. page 19. is betrayed by the governor of Mitylene, and capitulates, 20, is beheaded notwithstanding his apostacy, 21.

Gaza, rebuilt and fortified, i. 78.

Gazan, cham of the Mogul Tartars, enters into a league with the Christians against the Saracens, ii. 21. his victories, 22. is obliged to return into Perfis, 22. fends an embaffy to Rome to defire the pope's assistance, 24.

Gazelles, governor of Syria, raifes an infurrection upon. the death of Selim, iii. 142. is defeated by the forces

of Solyman, the fuccessor to Selim, 144.

Gelver, an enterprize against that island, successful at first, but at last very fatal, by the misconduct of Lacerda, iv. 242. et feq.

Genoefe, some knights of Rhodes, take part with them

in their war with the Venetians, ii. 135.

Genoese, alarmed at the approach of Barbarossa, but get rid of him by delivering up Dragut, iv. 102.

Genoese, insult the squadron of the order; the consequences of these disputes, v. 134. the council prohibits the receiving any of them into the order, 135. the pope reconciles them to the order, 172.

Geoffroy le Rat, chosen grand malter of the order of St. John, i. 200, his letter to the prior of England, complaining of the famine then raging in Palestine,

202. his death, 220.

George Trapan, a German engineer, encourages Mahoment II. to undertake the fiege of Rhodes, iii. 52. pretends to defert from the Turkish army, and is admitted into Rhodes, 57. and diligently watched by order of the grand mafter, 59, confesses his treachery, and is executed, 70.

George Schilling, commands the gallies of the order of St. John in the emperor's service against Algiers

iv. 80, his behaviour in the fiege, 85.

George Adorne, governor of the city of Malta, prepares

to defend it against the Turks, iv. 137.

Gerard, the administrator of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, thut up in prison, i. 34. prevails upon the brothers

brothers and fifters of the hospital to renounce the world, and take a regular habit, vol. i. page 28. erects a magnificent temple in honour of St. John the baptift, 39. dies, 41.

Gerard de Pins, named by the pope to be lieutenant general of the order of St. John, ii. 103. attacks the Turkish fleet, and gains a considerable victory, 103.

Gerland, of Poland, knight of St. John, illustrious for his valour and piety, i. 277.

Germany, (the grand bailif of) his establishments and functions, ii. 241.

Giles (the house of St.) in Provence, one of the first hospitals or commanderies of the order of St. John, i. 40.

Ghinucci, (cardinal) appointed bishop of Malta by the pope, in opposition to the emperor, iv. 15.

Gilbert d'Affalit, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 116. approves of king Amaury's delign to invade Egypt, 147. levies troops to affift him. 117. religns his dignity in a full chapter, 118. and retiring into England is cast away at lea, ibid.

Godfrey of Bouillon, engages in the holy war, i. 28. first enters the city of Jerusalem, 24. made governor of it, after having refused the title of king, 36. defeats the army of the caliph of Egypt, ibid. forms new laws, extends his conquests, and dies, 40.

Godfrey de Duisson, chosen grand master of the order of Sr. John, i. 193. procures a marriage between Amaury de Lufignan king of Cyprus, and Ifabella queen of Jerusalem, 196 his death, 196,

Goletta, a fort lituated 12 miles from Tunis, belieged: and taken by Charles, V. iv. 45, who keeps pofferfion of it, 46.

Goletta, a fort on the coasts of Africa, taken by Selim,

Goza, described, iii. 265. visited by the grand master.

of Malta, iv. 1. ravaged by the Turks, 144.

Goza, fortified anew, v. 101. the grand malter de Vignacourt provides for its fafety, 103. is threatened: with an invasion by the Turks, and put in a posture

of defence, vol. v. page 17.

Gozon, (Dieu Donne de) engages a crocodile, ii. 115. and kills it, 116 is stript of his knightly habit, but reestablished with honour, 117. is made lieutenant-general of the island, 120. nominates himself grand master, 131. causes the command of the squadron of the league to be given to John de Biandra, 132. prevails on his order to assist the prince of Armenia, 133. complains of the commanders of the North, 134. makes profession of neutrality in the wars between the Christian princes, 135. asks leave of the pope to abdicate his dignity, 138. fortisies Rhodes, ibid. dies much lamented, ibid.

Grand Master, a name given to the superiors of the hospitallers by pope Clement IV. i. 314. used as early as the twelfth century, ibid. the grand master

is for life, and elective, i. 38.

Grand Master of the knights of Rhodes, a proposal to grant the nomination of him to the pope, ii. 18, can be deposed, with permission of the pope, ibid. has but one voice more than a pilier in the council, of which he is natural president, 112. has the nomination to several commanderies in each priory, ibid. how he ought to be chosen, 153. regulations concerning him, 179. is looked on as the most powerful Christian prince in the east.

Grand Master of the order of St. John, has the first place on the right hand of the throne, when the pope holds a council, iii. 254. other marks of di-

Stinction granted him, ibid.

Grand Master of the order of St. John, his dignity and rank, iv. 218. is invited to the council of Trent, 261. to which he fends an ambassador, ibid.

Grand Master of the order, his dignity is above that of cardinal, v. 67. a discussion of his rights, on occasion of the nomination of the general of the gallies, 99. the grand master Verdolle accepts of a cardinal's hat, ibid. Urban VIII. changes the form of his election motu proprie, 109. the inquisitor demands that the

the grand master's coach should stop on meeting his, vol. v. page 191. is wont to make the king of France a present of some birds of prey. 196.

Greek schismatics take from the Franciscans of Europe the keys of the holy places, v. 117. the order would

have them treated as enemies, ibid.

Gregory VIII. appoints public prayers and fasts for the

lofs of Jerufalem, i. 175.

Gregory IX. pope, excommunicates the emperor Frederick H. li. 256. notifies in his letters to the bishops of Apulia, ibid. forbids the emperor to cross the sea, as a member of the crusade, 261. assists John de Brienne and his rebel subjects from their oath of allegiance, 266. accepts the emperor's submission, and gives him absolution, 267. quiets the disturbances in Palestine, in favour of the emperor, 271. writes an angry letter to the knights of St. John, complaining of irregularities and abuses in the order, 275.

Gregory X. advanced to the popedom, i. 317. calls a general council at Lyons for the procuring a new

crofade, 218.

Gregory XI. excommunicates the Florentines, ii. 167. revokes his bull at the folicitation of S. Catharine de Siena, 168. removes from Avignon to Rome, 169. is opposed by the magistrates, 173. his death, 174.

Gregory XII. is declared a schismatic, and deposed at the council of Pisa, ii. 219. resigns at the council of

Constance, 228.

Gregory XIII. (pope) presents to the order three candidates for the grand mastership, v. 98, to which he remites the dignity of turcopilier, ibid. excludes the knights from that of bishop of Malta and prior of the church, 99.

Gregory XV. (pope) confirms all the privileges of the

order, v. 106.

Guerin (friar) minister of Philip Augustus, and Louis
VIII. his character, i. 224. Stops the progress of the
sect of Amaury, 225. is chosen bishop of Senlis, 230.
has great share in the victory of Bouvines, ibid.

Guerin,

Guerin, an hospitaller, takes pains to stop the progress of a new sect of fanaticks, vol. i. page 224. gains a victory for the king of France over the emperor Otho IV. 229. et seq. obtains considerable legacies of the French king for the desence of the Holy Land, and is named his executor, 251.

Guerin de Montaigu, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 221. opposes the inroads of Solyman de Roveniden into Armenia, 223. refuses to join the army of the emperor Frederic II. unless he should decline the command, 262. his death, 268.

Guerin, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 281.

Guchia, the story of that prince, v. 117. the order embraces his party, ibid.

Guelphs and Gibbelins, factions in Italy, their original, i. 264.

Guimard, prince of Salerno, belieged by the Saracens, and delivered by the lords of Normandy, i. 25.

Guimeran (the commander) distinguishes himself at the siege of Malta, v. 19.

Guiscard (Robert) a Roman prince, duke of Calabria, ravages the Greek empire, and why, i. 18. whence that sirname was given him, 27.

Guttiere d'Ermegilde, prior of the hospitallers of Castille, assists king Alphonsus VIII. against the Moors,

Guy, count of Forcalquier, bequeaths his possessions to the order of St. John, i. 93.

Guy de Blanchefort, grand prior of Auvergne, elected grand master of the order of Rhodes, 138. upon the report of mighty preparations made by the Turk, embarks with all expedition for Rhodes, though dangerously ill, 138. his death, ibid.

H.

HAcen, seignior of the assassins, his absolute power, vol. i. page 132.

Vol. V. E. Hamida.

INDEX.

Hamida, fon to Muley Hascen, seizes upon the kingdom of Tunis in his father's absence, vol. iv. page 9 leadings a victory over him, takes him prisoner, and puts out both his eyes, 98.

Hargan, dispossesses Sannar of his dignity of sultan of Egypt, i. 111. defeated by Noradin, and slain in

battle, 112.

Hascen, an aga, defends Algiers against the emperor

Charles V. iv. 82

Haffan, viceroy of Algiers, arrives at the Turkish camp before Malta, with a considerable body of succours, v. 16. attacks the peninsula both by sea and land, 17. is descated, 21.

Hegira, the zera of the Mahometan chronology, its

original, i. 8.

Helion de Villeneuve, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, ii. 109. calls a general chapter at Montpelier, to reform the abuses which had crept into the order, 111. arrives at Rhodes, and repairs the fortifications of the island, 113. deprives Dieu-donné de Gazon for having disobeyed his orders in fighting with the serpent of Rhodes, 117. but afterwards restores him to the habit and honours, 118. fits out six gallies in the port of Rhodes to keep the sea against the insidels, by order of pope Benedict XII. 123. makes several regulations in the order, 124. dies, 130.

Henry II. king of England, engages to undertake an expedition into the Holy Land, i. 149. receives the embaffadors from Palestine with respect, but declines to go thither in person, 151. takes the cross,

176.

. Harris ...

Henry, count of Champagne, marries Isabella the widow of Conrad, and obtains a right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, i. 194. is killed by a fall from a window, 195.

Henry Dandalo, doge of Venice, furnishes the army of the crusade with ships, to transport them to St. John

d'Acre,

d'Acre, vol. i. page 208. restores the emperor Isac Angelus to the throne of Constantinople, 212. refuses to be made emperor himself, 216.

Henry, brother to Baldwin I. made emperor of Constantinople, and poisoned by the Greeks, i.

270.

Henry 11. king of Cyprus, causes himself to be acknow-ledged and crowned king of Jerusalem, i. 327. arrives with succours in the port of Acre, ibid. privately retires to Cyprus, 323. disobliges by his management, ii. 15. is declared incapable of the government, and imprisoned, but recovers both his liberty and his crown, 17. et seq.

Henry, marquis of Hochberg, gives the hospitallers his

lordship of Heitersheim, ii. 21.

Henry VIII. king of England, talks of uniting the revenues of the order of St. John to the crown, and difmiffes the embaffadors of the grand mafter with difrespect, iii. 277. gives the grand mafter a gracious reception, 280. approves the defign of recovering Rhodes, and lays aside the project of sequelling the estates of the order, 282. divorces queen Catharine of Arragon, and marries Anna Bullen, iv. 28. proscribes cardinal Pool, 29. persecutes the order of Malta, 31. settles the succession, 206.

Henry II. king of France, sends Mr. de Belloy to Malta, with a letter to the grand master, complaining of infamous reports concerning his embassador, and to make enquiry into the affair, iv. 175. opposes the match of the queen of England with Phi-

lip of Spain, 212.

Henry III. king of France, is authorifed by a decree of the council to nominate a Frenchman to the grand priory of Auvergne, and names Francis of Lorrain, the queen's brother, to those of France, St. Giles, and Champagne, v. 89. assures the grand made la Cassiere of his protection, 96.

Meraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Europe to

procure a crusade, vol. i. page 148. visits the pope and the emperor at Verona, 150. passes into England, and treats king Henry. II. with haughtiness and contempt, 151. returns without success, 153.

Herrera, a Spanish knight, promotes a mutiny in the

town of Tripoli, iv. 154. et feq.

Heredia (John Ferdinand d') a knight of Rhodes, a favourite of Innocent VI. and employed by him in divers negotiations, ii. 141. makes use of his authority to aggrandize himself, 146. is chosen grand master, 158. conveys Gregory XI. to Ostia, 169. assists the Venetians in taking Patras from the Turks, 171. is made prisoner, and resused to be ransomed at the expence of the order, 172. et seq. is got out of prison at the charges of his relations, and declares for Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI. 179. bestows on the order a part of his estate, 180.

Holy Land, the respect paid to it by the ancient Chri-

Stians, i. 11.

Hospitallers (nuns) their origin, i. 13. take the regular habit, and the three religious vows, 38. retire into Europe after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, 169, where they form different houses, 179.217. Hospitallers, the foundation of their house at Jerusa-

lem, i. 14. become a regular order, 38.

Honorius III. (pope) writes to Andrew king of Hungary, and the grand master of the hospitallers, concerning the crusade, i. 235. makes the cardinal of Albans commander of the army sent into Palestine, 244. the bad consequences of that choice, 247. informed of the conduct of the hospitallers, whom he vindicates publicly, 248. assists at the assembly of Ferentino, 252. determines John de Brienne to resign in favours of Frederic II. his son-in-law, ibid. for what reasons, 253. excommunicates the count of Tripoli, and suffers the grand master of the hospitallers to do himself justice, 254.

Hugh, brother to Philip I, king of France, engages in

the holy war, i. 22.

Hugh de Payens, founder of the order of templars, vol.

Hugh de Forcalquier, assists Don James of Arragon in the conquest of Valentia, i. 272. 288.

Hugh, (St.) a knight of St. John, his devotion and manner of life, i. 276.

Hugh de Revel, chosen grand master of the order of St.

John, i. 3:11. puts the order under new regulations,
ibid. et feq. takes a journey to Rome to sollicit the
pope for new succours, 3:17. dies, 320.

Hugh III. king of Cyprus, afferts his title to the throne of Jerusalem, i. 319.

Huguenots, Lewis XIII, demands the affishance of the order to subdue them, v. 106.

Humbert II. dauphin of Viennois, made general of the crusade by pope Clement VI. ii. 127: puts to sea with the seet of the crusade, and contributes to the raising the siege of Jassa, 128. quits the enterprize and turns monk, 130.

Hungary, Amurath II. and Mahomet his fon carry their arms into it, but prove unsuccessful in their attempt upon Belgrade, iii. 146. Solyman carries war into it, and takes Belgrade, ibid. et seq.

Humiades, succours the besieged in Belgrade, iii. 3. sallies out of the town, gains a considerable victory over the Turks, and returns triumphant, 5.

J.

Acaya, the adventures of that Ottoman prince, whether true or falle. vol. v. page 126.

James, (Don) king of Arragon, drives the Moors on of Majorca and Minorca, and undertakes the con quest of Valentia, i. 271. unites it to the crown o-Arragon, 272.

James de Lusignan, regent of Cyprus, quarrels with the state of Genoa, and is taken prisoner, ii. 206. upon the death of his nephew, gains his liberty and the grown, ibid.

A SECOND

. De Brigger de la Leign del . Ben poblifanter

James Goeur, a French merchant, concludes a peace between the fultan of Egypt and the knights of Rhodes,

vol. ii. page 252.

James de Milly, chosen grand master of the knights of Rhodes, iii. 1. re-peoples the islands that had been ravaged by the Turks, 7. supports the claim of the house of Savoy to the kingdom of Cyprus, against the pretensions of the bastard of Lusignan, 8, et sequencemplies with the demands of the Venetians, and frees the town of Rhodes from a siege, 14. his death,

Janizaries distinguish themselves in different assaults at the siege of Malta, v. 26. the basha Mustapha kills two of them with his own hand for having retired from the breach, 31. causes Ibrahim to be strangled,

128.

Jannetin Doria takes the corfair Dragut prisoner, iv.

Jaroquins, two Turcoman princes, make an attempt to recover Jerusalem, and are defeated, i. 80.

Jaxi, a Rhodian, treacherously seized on by the Turkish general, iii. 172.

Ibrahim, the favourite of Solyman, dispatched with an army into Egypt against Achmet, iii. 262. sends him

head to the grand feignior, ibid.

Terusalem taken by the infidels, i. 11. the sultans of Egypt assign the Christians a quarter there, ibid. the calif Aaron grants a house to the French pilgrims, ibid. some merchants of Amalphi in Italy lay the first foundations of the order of the hospitallers there, 12. the Turcomans make themselves masters of it. and practife great cruelties, 16. but are driven out of it by the calif of Egypt, 32. the Christians carry the place after a flege of fix weeks, and make great flaughter, 35. Godfrey is chosen king of it, but refules the title, 36. the place runs a great rifque under Baldwin III. 79. is furrendered by capitulation, 167. is again put into the hands of the Christians, all except the temple, 265. all the Mahometans leave the place, 282. laid wafte by the Corasmins, 285. Je fuits

Jesuits drawn to Malta by the bishop Gargalia, vol. v. page 100. obliged to quit it, 122.

Jews, they and their effects are declared to be lawful

prize, v. 99.

Imbroll, prior of the church, undertakes to write a history of the order, but does not finish it, v. 116. has a great dispute with the grand master at Rome, 128.

Innocent IV. (pope) calls a general council at Lyons, to engage the western princes to a new crusade, i. 290. recommends the preservation of the holy places in a particular manner to the hospitallers, and

confers new donations upon them, 300.

Innocent VI. (pope) orders the knights of Rhodes to quit the island, and transport their convent into the continent, ii. 142. appoints a chapter to meet at Nismes or Montpelier to debate the business, 144. transfers it to Avignon, ibid. confers the best commandries of the order upon his favourite knight John Ferdinand d'Heredia, without the consent of the grand master, 145.

Innocent VIII. (pope) folicits the grand master to send Zizim to Rome, iii. 102. grants the order great privileges in exchange for his person, 103. receives him graciously, and orders him to be nobly attended,

106. dies, 107.

Innocent X. confers the commandry of Parma on his fifter-in-law's nephew, the order complains of it to all the christian princes. v. 127.

Inquisition established at Malta, v. 88.

Inquisitors render themselves odious at Malta, v. 101. are supported by the popes, ibid. and appointed presidents of the commission wherein the affairs of the order are adjusted, 110. their pretensions are regulated by pope Clement XIV. 177. render themselves independent and insupportable to the order, 191. require that the grand master's coach should stop at meeting theirs, ibid. attempt to extend their jurisdication over the insurary; the consequences of these disputes, 192.

Inter-

Interdict, its effects, vol. i. page 88.

Joachim, (Abbe) a supposed prophet, fortels the conquest of Jerusalem, i. 184. his character, 185.

Joannitz, king of the Bulgarians, takes prisoner Baldwin the first Latin emperor of Constantinople, and

puts him to death, i. 270.

Fobn, (St. of Jerusalem) the institution of the order, i. 28. their possessions, 30. the reformation of the order by Raimond Dapuy, 42. made military, 43. their statutes, habit, form of government, &c. 45. they offer their service to Baldwin II. king of Jerufalem, 47. fignalize their zeal in the defence of Antioch, 40. recommended to Fulk the successor of Baldwin by pope Innocent H. 60. renowned for their valour and exploits, 65. their manner of life, 94. adhere to pope Alexander III. in opposition to cardinal Octavian, 106, with difficulty confent to attend the king of Jerusalem in his expedition against Egypt, 117. disagree with the templars, 140. have a fettlement at Constantinople, 143: such aswere found there inhumanly murdered by the Greeks, 144. their behaviour at the fiege of Acre, 186. take up their relidence at Acre, upon the recovery of the town, 193. their power, 203. quarrel with the templars, 204. their difference made up by pope Innocent, 205. have foundations in all the dominions of Afia and Europe, 217. are allowed fortreffes in the kingdom of Armenia, 223. unjustly calumniated, as - converting to their private use the sums sent out of Europe, 248. have large revenues conferred upon them by the king of Arragon, 273. offer to redeem their captive brethren from the hands of the Saracens, 204. but without success, ibid. compared to the Maccabees by pope Clement IV. 314. obliged to quit the holy land, 331. retire to Limisso in Cyprus, ii. 2. fortify the town, 8. grow formidable at fea, ibid. once more recover Jerufalem, 23. but are again obliged to quit it, 24. resolve to abandon Cyprus, and repair to Rhodes, 37. apply to the king of France for assistance, 46. make a descent upon the island,

and lay fiege to Rhodes, vol. ii. page 51. take the town. and are called the knights of Rhodes, 52. are invested with the estates of the templars, 81, et seq. fink into luxury, oo, a schism formed amongst them upon the deposition of Fulk de Villaret their grand master, 101. the pope fends a commissioner to Rhodes to enquire into the quarrel, 103. their negligence complained of to the pope, 121. their enemies endeavour to get the revenues of the templars out of their hands, 140. a chapter held at Avignon, 144. various regulations made relating to discipline, 145. enemies arise from among their own members, 157. they defeat the naval forces of the fultan of Egypt, 247. ravage the coasts of the Turkish dominions, and secure their own, iii. 5. divided amongst themselves, 14. assist the Venetians against Mahomet, 26, 20. behave with resolution and courage in the siege of Rhodes, 61. oppressed by pope Alexander VI. 115. are victorious over the ships of the sultan of Egypt, 130. devote their prizes to the common good of the order, 135, invited to the council of Lateran by pope Julius II. who offers to put the council under their protection, 137. decline making any confiderable detachment, but order their procurator-general in Italy to attend upon his business, ibid. interest themselves in the defence of Belgrade, 147. obliged to quit Rhodes, 230. are assigned Viterbo for their refidence by pape Clement VII. 254. their revenues in Italy seized on by the order of the emperor, 272. obtain the grant of Tripoli, Malta and Goza, from the emperor, at the request of pope Clement VIII. 297. they are put in possession of them by fix commissioners, 301. are transported into the island of Malta, 305. take the name of the knights of Malta, 308. make an attempt against Modon, iv. 4. return with a confiderable booty, 12. join the emperor's fleets, and lay fiege to Coron, 19. a quarrel arifes among them, which makes them take arms against one another, 25. the authors of the tumult punished, 28. they attend the emperor in his expedition against Barbaroffa,

- baroffa, vol. iv. page 43. are complimented by his imperial majelty, 54. their exploits at fea, 56. they defend Tripoli against Airadin, 59 raze the tower of the Alcayd, 61. are unfuccefsful beforeSufa, 72. behave with courage in the fiege of Algiers, 84. are instrumental. in the conquest of Afric, 117. the ashes of such as were flain in the fiege transported into Sicily, 119. are attacked in Malta by the Turkish sleet, 132, et feq. are mutinous in Tripoli, 153. but upon Sinan's breach of faith resolve to defend the place to the last extremity, 163. being deferted by their foldiers, are taken, stripped, and laid in irons, 164, the knights at Malta improve the fortifications of the island, 190. are put in possession of their estates in England by order of queen Mary, 213. are offered Mehedia for a place of relidence by the emperor, 219. determine to continue at Malta, 223. fuffer much loss in their harbour by a ftorm, 229. their bravery at sea, 258. resolve to lose their lives rather than Malta, v. 3. are fuccessful against the Algerine succours, 21. but with the loss of a confiderable number of men, 22.

John, count de Brienne, proposed by the emperor as a match for the queen of Jerusalem, i. 219. lands at the port of Acre with only three hundred men, and marries the queen, 226. lays siege to Damiata, 243. and carries it, 246. makes peace with the Saracens, 247. is obliged to abdicate the kingdom of Jerusalem in favour of the emperor Frederic II. 252, is placed at the head of the pope's army against the emperor, 263. quits the command, 266 is made regent and protector of the empire of Constantinople,

280.

John de Villiers, chosen grand master of the order of Station, 1. 324. defends St. John d'Acre against the Saracens, 229. is obliged to quit the place, and excepts to Cyprus, 331. sends a general fummons to the hospitallers in Europe to repair to Limisso, il. 2. calls a general chapter, 6. makes new regulations in the order, 10. dies, 17.

John XXII. (pope) the manner of his election, vol. ii.

page 110.

John le Meingre, marshal of Boucicault, sits out a sleet against the king of Cyprus, and lands at Rhodes, ii. 207. is diverted from his enterprize by the grand master, ibid. turns his arms against the Turks, and lays sleege to Scandaroon, 208. enters into a league with the lord of the country, reimbarks his troops, and sets sail for Cyprus, 210. comes to an agreement with the king, by the mediation of the grand master of Rhodes, 211. ravages the coasts of the Saracens, in conjunction with the grand master, 214. returns to Italy, 215.

John XXIII. (pope) his character and advancement to the popedom, ii. 224. calls the council at Confrance, 225. his misbehaviour towards the knights of Rhodes, ibid. deposed by the council, 227.

John de Lafic, elected grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 244. has advice of the sultan of Egypt's designs against Rhodes, with the concurrence of Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, 245. courts the alliance of Amurath, 246. desends the isle of Rhodes with vigilance against the invasions of the Saracens, 249. obtains recruits from Europe for the desence of the island against the sultan of Egypt, 252. calls a general chapter at Rhodes, ibid. makes a peace with the sultan, ibid. is charged with mismanagement by pope Nicholas V. and vindicates himself with resolution and spirit, 253. is invested with sovereign authority, and the entire disposal of the revenue of the order, 255. his death, 266.

John Baptista Unsini, prior of Rome, elected grand master of the knights of Rhodes, iii. 24. provides against the invasions of Mahomet II. ibid. refuses to comply with the treaty proposed to the order by the Venetians, 26. but notwithstanding sends a squadron of gallies to their assistance in the invasion of Negrepont, ibid. favours the embassy of Ussum-Cassan king of Persia, 31. makes new fortifications for the

defence

defence of Rhodes against the Turks, vol. iii. page

35. his death, 36.

John d'Omeder, chosen grand master of Malta, iv. 64. fits out a fleet for the fiege of Sufa, 72. fends an emballador to the emperor to defire the demolition of Tripoli, unless refortified by his highness, 75, assists the emperor in his design upon Africa, 80, again solicits to abandon Tripoli, but without success, 90. joins the emperor's fleet with the gallies of the order, against the inclination of several commanders in the council, 125. is negligent in making the necesfary preparations against the armament of the grand seignior, 129. engages d'Aramon, the French embaffador, to endeavour to hinder the fiege of Tripoli, 147. expresses his grief for the loss of Tripoli. and privately charges the French embassador with having betrayed the order, 167, et feq. plots the destruction of the marshal de Valier, 170. causes letters to be wrote into feveral parts of Europe to the prejudice of the marshal de Valier and the French knights. 173. is displeased with the sentence against de Valier, 174. receives a letter from the king of France concerning his embaffador, which he lays before the council, 177. endeavours to remove the grand prior of Capua from Malta, 189. engages him in an enterprize against Zoara, 193. writes a letter of acknowledgment to the queen of England for the kindness she had shewn to the order, 214. his death, ibid.

John de la Valette, chosen grand master of Malta, iv.

235. demands the responsions and taxes due from the
Bohemian knights, who promise to pay them, ibid,
requires the same responsions from the Venetians,
and obtains them. 238. restores the marshal de Valier to his honours, and farther confers upon him the
title of bailif of Lango, as a testimony of his innocence, 239. enters into a design of recovering Triposi, ibid. joins the forces of the order with the sleet
of the king of Spain, and sends them upon the expedition, 241. will not suffer the knights to attempt the

conquelt of the isle of Gelves, vol. iv. page 242. receives advice that the viceroy of Sicily had taken the island, and was building a fort, whilst the fleet was infected with a dangerous fickness, 240, recalls the knights whom he had fent with him, and foon after fends a reinforcement of fresh troops, 250. builds new gallies at his own expence, 258. is invited to the council of Trent, and fends his embassador thither in his stead, 261. follicits the council to confirm the immunities of the order, but without effect, through the interpolition of pope Pius IV. 262. has advice from Constantinople of Solyman's preparations to attack Malta, 274, et feq. makes ready for his defence, 275. his character, 276. prepares for the engagement by acts of piety and devotion, 278. the flate of the illand, and the disposition of his forces, 281. the chief security of the island lay in his presence, 284. offers to throw himself into the fort St. Elmo, which was first befieged by the Turks, but is opposed by the council, 200. folicits the viceroy of Sicily to make hafte with his fuccours, 292. affifts the knights blocked up in fort St. Elmo to hold out the place as long as possible, 298. writes to them with an air of indifference, as provoked them to continue their defence at all'hazards, 308. fires upon the Turks from the castle St. Angelo, as they were engaged in the attack of fort St. Elmo, 313. again fol-licits the fuccours from Sicily, but with no better fuccess than before, 317. dissembles his concern for the loss of fort St. Elmo, and exhorts his knights to follow the example of their brethren, who had died in the service, v. 2. makes new regulations for the defence of Malta, 3. orders all the Turks that should be taken to be put to the fword, 3. refuses to enter into a negotiation with the basha, 4. receives a small body of fuccours from Sicily, 5. defeats the balka's project of cutting off their communication with the sea, 11. forms a new kind of bridge, by the advice of Bolio a young knight, for the conveyance of fuccours from the town to the fort St. Michael, 13. again folicits the supplies from Sicily, ibid. is deluded by the VOL. V.

king of Spain, vol. v. page 15. his behaviour upon the death of his nephew, 27. fets fire to the new bridge of the basha, and burns it to ashes, 28. writes again to the viceroy of Sicily for succours, 34. does not depend upon his promiles, but continues his vigilance and encouragement of the foldiers to hold out to the last extremity, 37. advancing too far against the enemy. is dangerously wounded, 42. draws the wounded knights out of the infirmary to place them in posts, which required their presence, 45. is advised by the council to blow up the remains of fort St. Michael, and rejects the proposition with indignation and horror, 48. receives the Sicilian succours, 56. ruins the works, and fills up the trenches of the Turks, upon their quitting the island, 58. entertains the generals of the auxiliary troops, 66. refules to be made a cardinal, 67. refortifies the illand, 69. quarrels with the pope, 75. dies, 76. his funeral, 78.

Joubert, an hospitaller, attends king Fulk in his expedition to Antioch, i. 61. dispatched to Raimond count of Poitiers, with the offer of a marriage with Conftance, and the principality of Antioch, 63. made grand master of the hospital of St. John, 127. and appointed regent during the absence of the king of Jerusalem, 129. hardly escapes being taken by the

enemy, 136. his death, 140.

Ifaac Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, deprived of his crown by his brother, i. 211. restored to his throne, 212. dies of grief, 214.

Ifmael, king of Persia, invaded by Selim, enters into a league with Campson Gauri sultan of Egypt, and

the grand master of Rhodes, iii. 141.

Juliac, (Robert de) chosen grand master, ii. 153. obeys the orders of the pope concerning the defence of Smyrna, 155. demands assistance of the pope against Amurath I. 156. his complaints to the pope against some priors, 157. his death and character, 158.

Julio de Medicis, (cardinal) and knight of Rhodes, a a candidate for the popedom, iii. 249. his birth, education

ducation and power, under the pontificate of Léo X. vol.iii.page 250. is chosen pope, and takes the name of Clement VII. 252. assigns Viterbo for the residence of the knights of Rhodes, 254. enters into a league with the king of England and the Venetians to maintain the liberty of Italy, 265. is besieged in Rome, and takes resuge in the castle of St. Angelo, 286. recommends the interests of the order of St. John to the emperor, 298. nominates cardinal Ghinucci for the bishoprick of Malta, iv. 15. dies, 17.

Julius II. (pope) calls a council at Rome, to which he invites the knights of Rhodes, who beg to be ex-

cuses, but offers him their services, iii. 137.

L

A Gerda, viceroy of Sicily, forms a project for the recovery of Tripoli, iv. 240. fets out in the expedition, and is joined by the knights of Malta, 241. proposes the conquest of the isle of Gelves, but cannot obtain the grand mafter's confent, 242. lands to take in fresh water, but is always opposed by the inhabitants of Gelves, 245. rejects the motion of reducing Tripoli, lands in the ifle of Gelves, and finds no opposition, 246. receives the keys of the castle from the governor, and engages him to pay tribute to the king of Spain, 248. refolves to build a fort in the island, ibid. is deaf to all entreaties to the contrary, and goes on with his work, 250. is attacked by the Turkish fleet, and in a terrible consternation advises with Doria what step he should take, 251. deferts the island, and lands in Sicily, 253.

Lascaris, a Greek officer, revolts from the Turks to the Christians, v. 8. his birth and education, 9. acquaints the grand master with the basha's project to cut off all communication with the sea from the Mal-

tele, 10.

Lastic, (John de) grand master, ii. 244. prepares to wage war with the sultan of Egypt, 245. raises new fortifications in the city of Rhodes, 248. summons F f 2

all the knights thither by a general citation, vol. ii.p., 249. follicits the affistance of the christian princes of Europe, but without success, ibid. suffers the chevalier Quirini to treat with the sultan of Egypt, 250. gives the pope an account of the advantages gained by his order, 252. holds a general chapter, ibid. justifies his order to pope Nicholas V. 254. is entrusted with the sovereign power, and entire disposal of the sinances, 255. renews the treaties with Mahomet II. then come to the empire, 281. replies with courage to the summons made him by the latter, to acknowledge him for his sovereign, 265. has recourse to the christian princes, especially to Charles VII. king of mance, 266. dies, ibid.

Lateran, (the third general council of) censures the behaviour of the hospitallers and templars, i. 137. makes a constitution in favour of Lepers, 138. the

fourth general council, 233.

Leo Strozzi prior of Capua, made general of the gallies of the knights of Malta, iv. 64. his atchievments in arms, 65, fets out from Malta for Italy to procure the liberty of his father, 67. leaves the service of France, and asks leave to enter the port of Malta, 185. the bad treatment he receives from the grand master d'Omedes, ibid. et feq. returns to Malta, 189. advisesthe further fortification of the island, and assists in the doing it, 101. engages in an enterprize against Zoara, 193. his army enter the town by furprize, and fall to plunder, 196, are furrounded by the forces of the aga Morat, and in great measure cut to pieces. 197. is disabled by a musket shot in his thigh, 199. is carried fafe to his ships by a knight of Majorca, named Torcillas, ib. returns with the shatter'd remains of his troops to Malta, 204. fets fail again and fpends the fummer in scouring the Mediteranean up to the mouth of the Nile, 205. carries his prizes into the ports of the order, ibid. is a candidate for the dignity of grand mafter, 215, fets fail to attack the corfairs, which had appeared before Palermo, 223. determines to enter again into the service of France,

and command the French army in Italy, vol. iv. page 224. finds himself suspected by the viceroy of Sicily, ibid. escapes from him by stratagem, 225. forms a design to seize Scarlino, and is killed by a musket ball, 226. his character, 227.

Leonard Balestrim, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, retires to Candia with his clergy, upon the conquest

of the island by Solyman, iii. 235.

Livron, seizes upon the kingdom of Armenia, and takes the prince of Antioch prisoner, i. 200. follicits pope Innocent III. in favour of Rupin's claim to the prin-

cipality of Antioch, 222.

Lorge (Nicholas) grand master, i. 320. endeavours to extinguish the differences between his order and that of the templars, ibid. goes into the west to implore succours, 323. dies in a short time after his return from his voyage, in which he had been unsuccessful, 324. regulations made under his govern-

ment, ibid.

Lothair, (cardinal) advanced to the popedom under the title of Innocent III. i. 204. reconciles the differences between the knights hospitallers and templars, 206. represents in his letters to the hishops of France the miserable state of the christians in the east, 221. preaches up a new crusade, and annexes indulgencies to it, 225. calls the fourth council of Lateran, and recommends to them the recovery of the holy land, 233.

Louis VII. king of France, resolves upon an expedition to the holy land, i. 72. but returns without suc-

ccfs, 77.

Louis IX. king of France, takes up the cross, i. 293enters upon the expedition, 296. passes the winter in
the isle of Cyprus, 297. composes the differences between Hayton, king of Armenia, and Bohemund V.
prince of Antioch, 298. refuses to come to an accommodation with the sultan of Egypt, ibid. arrives
before Damiata, 299. marches against the insidels,
301. is taken prisoner, 306. recovers his liberty,
ibid. sets out from Egypt to St. John d'Acre, ibid.

If f 2

the seignior of the assassing demands presents of him, vol. i. page 307, but afterwards implores his pro-

tection, 308.

Lusignan, (Guy de) marries the king of Jerusalem's filter, and is declared regent of the kingdom, i. 144. obliged to refign his regency, 147. retires to Ascalon, 148. is content with the title of count of Jaffa, ibid. is proclaimed king of Jerusalem, 155. is deposed and divorced from his queen, ibid. is married again and crowned, 156. is taken prisoner by Saladine, 163. renounces the title of king of Jerusalem, and is set at liberty, 171. makes head against the infidels, 182. marries the princes of Cyprus, and is settled in the government of the island by Robert I. king of England, 104. dies, 195.

Lusignan, (Amaury de) king of Cyprus, marries Isabella queen of Jerusalem, i. 195. prevail'd on by pope Innocent to continue his residence in the holy land, 207. represses the seditions in Cyprus, 208. dies.

219.

Lusignan, (Hugh de) succeeds his father Amaury in the kingdom of Cyprus, i. 219.

Lufignan, (Godfrey de) arrives in the east with a fresh

M

Mahazin, son to sultan Sannar, defends Pelusium against the king of Jerusalem, vol. i. page 119. Mahamet, his birth and rise, i. 4. his methods of founding a new religion, ibid. his success and death, o.

Mahomet II. his character and advancement to the throne, ii. 261. lays fiege to Constantinople and takes it, 262. falls in love with Irene, a Greek lady, 263. cuts off her head with his own hand, 265. declares war against the knights of Rhodes, ibid. vows their destruction, iii. 2. lays fiege to Belgrade, 3. is beaten and wounded, 4. puts to sea a strong fleet, with directions to destroy all the isles of the order of Rhodes with sire and sword, 5. his admiral lays siege

to a fortified castle in the isle of Lango, and is unfaccessful, vol. iii. page 6. lands in Rhodes and several other islands of the order, commits great ravages and reimbarks with his troops, 7. affilts the usurper of Cyprus in opposition to queen Charlotte, 11. threatens Rhodes with a fiege, 12. refuses a safe conduct to the commander de Saconny, embassador from the knights of Rhodes, 15. admits of an embally. and figns a truce for two years, 16. lays fiege to Trebilond, 17. takes it by capitulation, and puts the Greek prince who defended it to death, 18. proposes the conquest of Lesbos, is made master of Mitylene by capitulation, and breaks his faith, 21. fends fleet with orders to make a descent upon the isle of Rhodes, but without success, 25. fits out a fleet and invests the town and ifle of Negrepont, ibid. makes himself master of the place, and treats the vanquished with all possible inhumanity and cruelty. 28. menaces the order of Rhodes, 29. marches in person against Ussum-Cassan, king of Persia, 32. gains a victory over him, 33. propoles to make a treaty of peace with the grand mafter of Rhodes, 42. grants a suspension of arms, 46. declares his design of attacking the ifle of Rhodes, 51. is confirmed in this design by the grand vizier and three famous renegadoes, ibid. fends the basha to take a view of the place, 52. who attacks the fortress of Fano, but is obliged to retire, 52. his fleet are feen off from Rhodes, 55. they land in the island, and require the town to furrender, ibid. upon refusal they lay siege to it, 56. the fiege raised, 74. prepares to attack it in person, but is carried off by a fit of the cholic, before he could enter upon the expedition, 77.

Malta, its description, iii. 263. 306. 307. fortified by the grand master, iv. 13. 279.

Manuel Comnenus, the Greek emperor, joins with A-maury king of Jerusalem in his design against Egypt, i. 115. makes considerable remittances to the grand master of the hospitallers, 118. his seet dispersed by

a storm, vol. i. page 122. favours the Latin christi-

Martel, (the house of) called the hospital of the true

cross, founded, ii. 20.

Martin V. unanimously elected by the council of Constance, ii. 230. puts an end to the schism, which had
so long prevailed in the Roman church, ibid.

Mary, eldest daughter to queen Isabel and Conrad, marquels of Montferrat, is acknowledged heires of the crown of Ierusalem, i. 210. the count de Brienne is

nominated for her husband, ibid.

Mary, queen of England, sends an envoy to the grand master, with advice that she had resolved to after all the commandries to the order, which he ather and brother had taken away, iv. 205. her advancement to the throne of England, 209. sought in marriage by several pretenders, 210. married to Philip of Austria, the emperor's son, 213.

Maurice de Pugnac, forms a conspiracy against Fulk de Villaret, grand master of the order of St. John, ii. 100. causes him to be deposed, and himself to be elected in his stead, 102. the pope interposes in the affair, and the cause is heard at Avignon, 105. dies

before the cause was decided, 106.

Mehedia, formerly named Adrumetum, described, iv-

103.

Melech-Sais, succeeds Bendocdar in the throne, ii. 320takes Margat, 322. is murdered by one of his emirs, who takes possession of the crown by the name of Melec-Messor, ibid.

Melefinda, eldest daughter to Baldwin H. king of Jerufalem, marries Fulk count of Anjou, i. 59. lays claimto the kingdom after his death in her own right, 70-

Melier, an apostate templar, made king of Armenia, and joins his forces with Saladine's, i. 129. retires to the mountains, 130. is dispatched by the grandees of the country, 143.

Mercati, (Gerard) a knight of the order of St. John.

his manner of life, i. 277.

Mos

Merchants, (Italian) obtain leave of the caliph Monstafer-billah for the Latin christians to visit the holy se-

pulchre, vol. i. page-12.

Michael Paleologus, offers to join his forces to those of the crusade, and to put on the cross himself, i. 319. Micheli, (Henry) duke of Venice, assists the Christians of Judæa against the Saracens, i. 52. belieges the city of Tyre, and takes it upon condition, 53.

Military friars, their several orders, i. 97.

Modon, its situation, iii. 294. proposed as a settlement for the knights of St. John, 205. the grand master attemets to seize upon it, iv. 4. et seq.

e caliph) his family, i. 110.

Moley, (James de) grand master of the templars, obeys the pope's order, and repairs to him to Poitiers, ii. 39. presents two memorials to him in behalf of the order, ibid. offers to vindicate his order from the imputations laid to their charge, 74. declares himself and his order innocent upon the scaffold, 84. is burnt alive, and repeats his declaration in the midst of the flames, 85.

Moors, their conquelts, i. 25.

Montferrat, (marquis de) heads a new army of the crusade into Palestine, i. 208, attempts to rescue the emperor Alexis from the hands of the usurper Murzulphle, 214. is invested in the kingdom of Thessalonica, 216.

Moravia, (the count of) ravishes the regent of Hungary's wife, by the affiftance of the queen his fifter,

1. 237

Morbassan, a Turk, attempts to recover Smyrna from the Christians, ii. 125. makes a cruel slaughter amongst them, 126.

Morofini, (Thomas) cholen patriarch of Constantino.

ple, i. 216.

-zalani

Muley Hassen, king of Tunis, makes a particular alliance with the governor of Tripoli against the Turks, iv. 36. is attacked by Barbarossa, 38. obliged to quit his capital, 39, implores the affiftance of Charles V. 41. is re-established, and on what conditions, 52.

asks the affiftance of the order to retake Sufa, voliv. page 75. fets out for Naples to implore fuccours of the emperor, and is received with great magnificence by the viceroy of Naples, who is ordered to confer with him, 93 returns into Afric to oppose the rebellion of his fon Hamida, is taken prisoner and deprived of both his eyes, 98.

Murzulphle, usurps the throne of Constantinople, i. 214. the princes of the crusade make war upon him,

215. flies to secure his life, ibid.

Musqueta, an old officer, makes a diversion, which draws off the Turkish army from entering the breach they had made in the fort St. Missell, v. 32. defends the notable city against Mustapha and the Turkish army, 51.

Mustapha, son to Mahomet II. is victorious against the Persians, iii. 33. is strangled by his father's order, 35.

Mustapha, commander under Solyman at the siege of Rhodes, is thrown out of his employment, iii. 202 fent into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey, 258. is besieged in grand Cairo by an army of rebellious Arabians and Egyptians, ibid.

Musulmen, their aversion to the Christians, i. 12.

N

Mece, furrendered to the Latin christians, vol. i. page

Nicholas Lorgue, fee Lorgue.

Nicholas IV. (pope) refuses to assist the hospitallers with money for the recovery of the holy places, i. 323. expresses his concern for the loss of the holy land, and endeavours to draw the princes of Europe

into a new crusade, ii. g.

Nicholas Durande de Villegagnon, a knight of Malta, his birth and character, iv. 126. informs the grand master that the grand seignior's armament was solely designed against the order, ibid. presses the viceroy of Sicily to send succours to Malta, 128. gives notice to the knights to prepare against the danger that threaten-

threatened them, vol. iv. page 128. defends the marshal de Valiere against the prosecution of the grand

master, 172.

Noradin, made sultan of Aleppo, i. 71. commits great ravages in the principality of Antioch, 78. takes the city of Paneas, and gains a victory over the king of Jerusalcin, 98. restores Sannar to his dignity of sultan of Egypt, 111.

Norman lords, settle themselves in the lower Italy, i. 25. Nuns bospitallers, a monastery founded for them at Sixenne in the kingdom of Arragon, i. 181. their man-

ner of life, ibid. had confiderable houses at Florence, Pictond Verona, 217.

0

Octavean, (cardinal) lays claim to the popedom under the title of Victor III. vol. i. page 103.

Odo de St. Amand, grand master of the templars, protects du Mesnil, i. 133. is taken prisoner by the infidels, 136. refuses to be ransomed, ibid.

Odo de Pins, chosen grand master of the order of St.

John, ii. 17.

Omadeddin Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, seizes upon the territories of Edessa, i. 71. is assallationated in his tent by his own servants, ibid.

Omar and Orman, the apostles and successors of Maho-

met, 1. 9.

Orchanes, ion and successor to Ottoman, attempts the recovery of Rhodes, i. 107. is beaten at sea, 109. his future conquests, 140.

Ortogule, son to Bajazet, defends Sebaste against Tamerlane, ii. 189. is taken prisoner and beheaded,

100.

Osman, or Ottoman, the founder of the Turkish empire, resolves to drive the knights hospitallers out of the isle of Rhodes, ii. 56. the original of his family, ibid. takes whole towns and provinces from the Greeks, 59.

Otho IV. emperor of Germany, in conjunction with the

other princes of Europe, makes war upon France, vol. i. page 227. is defeated by Philip II. 232. abdicates the empire, 233.

P

PAmiers, (the bishop of) his infolent behaviour at the French court, vol. i. page 26.

Paneas, a city of Phœnicia, fack'd and burnt by fultan

Noradin, i. 98.

Parifot de la Valette, made general of the gallies of Malta, iv. 225. grows terrible to the corfairs of Barbary, 227.

Paschal II. (pope) confirms the institution of the order

of St. John of Jerusalem, i. 38.

Paul Simeoni, a knight of Malta, and prisoner in Tunis, seizes upon the castle, and holds it out against Barbarossa, iv. 51. gives notice to the emperor, who advances forward, and is met by Simeoni at the head of six thousand slaves, ibid. et seq. made general of the gallies of the order, and ordered to march to the siege of Susa, 71.

Peter, the hermit, forms the project of rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the insidels, i. 17. advises with Simeon the Greek patriarch about the execution of his scheme, ib. applies to pope Urban II.

10. preaches the crusade through all Europe, and

with wonderful success, 20.

Petrus Blefensis, opposes the raising a tax upon the clergy for the defence of the holy land, i. 178.

Peter de Courtenay, made emperor of Constantinople, and treacherously murdered, i. 270.

Peter de Villebride, chosen grand master of the order

of St. John, i. 290.

Peter de Beaujeu, grand master of the templars, elected general of the Christians in the fiege of Acre, i. 327.

Peter de Cornillan, or Cormelian, elected grand mafter of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 139. makes new regulations in the order, ibid. his death, 144.

Peter

Peter Roger, cardinal de Beaufort, chosen pope, and takes the title of Gregory XI. vol. ii. page 150. refuses to accept the abdication of Raimond Berenger, grand master of the knights of Rhodes, 151. summons an assembly of the principal commanders at Avignon, 152.

Peter de Lusignan, acts the tyrant in Cyprus, and is

flain by his fubjects, ii. 204. et feq.

Peter Raimond Zacosta, elected grand master of the knights of Rhodes, iii. 15. raises a new fort in Rhodes, for the desence of the fort and city, 18. assists the prime of Lesbos against the Turks, 19. summons a control of the order to meet at Rhodes, 22. is accused to pope Nicholas V. and repairs to Rome to enter upon his vindication, ib. his death, 23.

Peter d' Aubusson, see Aubusson.

Peter du Pont, chosen grand master of Malta, iv. 32. arrives in the island, 40. sollicits the emperor to send an army into Afric to put a stop to the progress of Barbarossa, 41. the emperor resolving to march this ther in person, the grand master sits out a seet for his assistance, 43. congratulates the emperor upon the success of his arms, and dies, 54.

Peter de Monte, chosen grand master of Malta, v. 81. his first care is to pay due honours to the funeral of

his predeceffor, ibid.

Philebert de Naillac, chosen grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 172. enters into a league against the Turks, 176. buys the Morea of Thomas Palzologus for the order of St. John, 185. refuses to court the fayour of Tamerlane, great cham of Tarrary, 195. takes a caltle built upon the ruins of Halicarnassus, and fortifies it, 203. defends all the christian states in the east, and particularly the isle of Cyprus, 204, makes peace between the king of Cyprus and the Genoele, 200. ravages the coasts of the Saracens, 217, makes peace with the fultan, 216. affifts at the council of Pifa, 218. and afterwards at that of Constance, 228. labours to extinguish the remains of the schism in his order, 229. succeeds in his attempt, Gg VOL. V.

vol. ii. page 232. opens a general chapter, fends the records of it to the pope, and procures his holi-

ness's confirmation, 233. his death, ibid.

Philip II. king of France, inclined to engage in the holy war, i. 151. takes up the crofs, 176. arrives at the fiege of Acre, 188. leaves Palestine, 193. is victorious against the emperor Otho IV. 229, et feq. his death, and legacies for the defence of the holy land, 251.

Philip, count of Namur, religns the dignity of emperor of Constantinople to Robert his youngest brother, i.

Philip III. king of France, puts on the crof Philip the fair, king of France, refules to cross, ii. 5. procures the election of Bertrand de Got. archbishop of Bourdeaux, to the popedom, 30, et feg. resolves to suppress the order of templars, 62. gives private orders to feize upon the grand master and all the templars within his dominions, 64.

Philip II. king of Spain, marries Mary queen of England, iv. 213. orders the viceroy of Sicily to keep a watchful eye upon Leo Strozzi the prior of Capua, 224. makes the order of Malta a present of two gallies well provided, 230. fits out a fleet for the recovery of Tripoli, 240. fends out a fleet under the command of Don Garsia de Toledo against Gomera, who takes the town in a few days, which the year before had held out against all the forces of Spain, 264, et seq. orders Don Garsia to confer with the grand master of Malta about the armament that was preparing in the Turkish ports, 274.

Pilgrims freely entertained in the house of St. John at

Ierusalem, i. 37.

Pifa, a fynod, called there to determine the difference between the two contending popes Benedict XIII, and Gregory XII. ii. 218. they elect the cardinal of Milan, who takes the name of Alexander V. 210.

Pompeio Colonna, (cardinal) a candidate for the popedom, ii. 249. religns his pretentions to Julio de Me-

dicis, 250.

Pompeio

Pompelo Colonna, (commodore) advances with a small fuccour before Malta, and returns to Sicily without landing his men, vol. v. page 16.

Portuguese and Castilians, a new language erected in their favours, iii. 15. to which the dignity of grand

chancellor is annexed, ibid.

Prior of the church, a privilege demanded by the grand master in his favour, v. 92. cannot be chosen from amongst the knights, 99. holds the second rank in the general chapter, and assists at the conclave, 110. his differences with the bishop settled by pope innocent 174.

the soften R one shall ask of the

R Aimond of St. Giles, count of Thoulouse, the first lord who took the cross, vol. i. page 22. is victo-

rious in the fiege of Jerusalem, 34.

Raimond Dupay, succeeds Gerard in the government of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, i. 42. draws up a body of statutes for the order, ib. engages the fraternity to take up arms, but upon condition to employ them only against the insidels, 43. sent into Spain, to demand the execution of king Alphonsus's will, 68. the effect of his negotiation, has the title of grand master, 69. dies, 70.

Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, enters into the

order of the templars, i. 65.

Raimond Berenger, fon to the templar, marries the heir of the country, and is created prince of Arragon, 1. 67.

Raimond, count of Antioch, defeated by fultan Nora-

din, 1. 79.

Raimond III. count of Tripoli, is made regent of Jerusalem, i. 134. aspires to the succession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, 145. is again constituted regent, 148. deprived of his office, 156. enters into a league with Saladin, and privately turns Mahometan, 157. is seemingly reconciled to the king of Jerusalem, ibid. betrays him, 160. dies distracted, 174.

Gg2

Raimond, count of Tholouse, and marquis of Provence, excommunicated and deprived of his dominions, upon suspicion of favouring the Albigenses, vol. i. page 249. takes the habit and cross of the hospitallers, ib. his death, 250.

Raimond, count of Tripoli, lays claim to the dominions of Antioch, i. 221. feizes upon feveral castles belonging to the military orders, 254. excommunicated by the pope, ibid. restores all he had usurpeds.

ibid.

Raimond Berenger, chosen grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 148, in concert with the kinn of Cyprus, burns the ships of the Egyptian Corfus he ports of Alexandria, enters the town, and can off a considerable booty, 149, desires to abdicate his dignity, 151, causes new regulations to be made and authorised by the pope's authority, 152, his death,

153.

Rhodes, its several revolutions, ii. 50. et seq. its defeription and fituation, 51. iii. 54-infelted by a ferpent, which was flain by Dieu-donné de Gozon, ii. 114, et feq. formerly called Ophiula, from the number of ferpents that inhabited it, 118. valt mischiefa wrought by a ferpent in the time of Atilius Regulus. 119. the city belieged by the fultan of Egypt, 251. the fiege raised, ib. the port blocked up, and the town threatened with a fiege by the Venetians, iii. 13. belieged by the Turkish basha, 56, et seq. factione raised in the town, but repressed by the conduct of the grand malter, 70, a conference proposed by the basha to the grand master, and accepted, 72. the Turks enter the town, 73. and are repulled by the Christians, 74. the siege raised, 76. furnished with provisions by the grand master, in expectation of a fiege by Solyman, 160, et feq. its description at the time Solyman laid fiege to it, 168, the Turkish fleet advance before it, 177. and lay siege to it, ibid. a Turkish woman and slave forms a defign to fet fire to the town, 179, et feq. is discovered and executed, 180, a breach made in the walls, 185, the Turks

Turks enter the town, and are repulsed, vol. iii. page 191. Christian women assist in its defence, 199. a mutiny raised in the town, &c. 217. surrendered, 227.

Richard I. king of England, undertakes an expedition to the Holy Land, i. 178. arrives in Sicily, and is promised success by the Abbe Joachim, a pretended prophet, 184. conquers Cyprus, 190. arrives at the Christian camp before Acre, ib. makes a truce with the infidels, 193.

Richard, earl of Cornwall, arrives at Palestine in the head of a crufade, and procures an advantageous from the infidels, i. 282, gives a thousand towards the defence of the Holy Land, 294.

duke of Spoleto, impowered by the emperor Frederic II. to make up the differences between him and Pope Gregory IX. i. 261. is refused an audience, and makes war upon the pope's subjects, 262.

Robert, duke of Normandy, engages in the holy war, i. 23.

Robert, count of Flanders, takes the cross, i. 23.

Robert, younger son to the late emperor Peter of Constantinople, invested in the imperial dignity, i. 271. is despised by his subjects, 280. takes shipping for Italy, and dies of grief, ibid.

Robert de Juliac, vide Iuliac.

Robert of Geneva, cardinal, elected pope in opposition to Urban VI. under the name of Clement VII. ii. 177.

Rodolph, emperor of Germany, takes up the cross, i.

Roger, a prince of the same family, appointed guardian to Bohemund II. in the principality of Antioch, i. 48. is defeated and flain by the infidels, 49.

Roger, king of Sicily, attempts to make himself master

of Antioch, i. 6r.

Roger du Pins, elected grand master by the knights of Rhodes, ii. 144. is forced to connive at the pope's abuses, 147. but strives to prevent the like innovations for the future, ib. dies, 148. Ro-

INDEX

Roland, cardinal, advanced to the see of Rome, under the title of Alexander III. vol. i. page 103. his election contested, ibid. owned by the king of Jerusalem, 105.

Rome governed by a magistrate, who took the title of senerce it.

fenator, ii. 166.

Remegar, a knight of Malta, his exploits at sea, iv. 259, et seq.

Rupin, made prince of the leffer Armenia, in the room

of Melier, i. 143.

Rupin, the younger, declared presumptive heir to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, i. 222. obtains the assistance of the hospitallers by the mediate the pope, 223.

S

Afadine, brother to Saladine, cuts off his nephews, and obtains the empire of the infidels, i. 194. proposes to prolong the truce between the infidels and the Christians, 221. his death, 243. the succession of

his fons, 244.

Saladine, a Mahometan prince, bravely defends the city of Alexandria, i. 113. knighted by Humfrey de Thoron, comfable of Jerusalem, 114. succeeds his uncle Siracon in the command of Noradin's troops, 124. marries the widow of Noradin, and makes war upon his fon, 126. lays fiege to the caltle of Dacon in Idumea, makes an incursion into Pale-Stine, and is obliged to retire with disgrace, 135. draws the Christians into an ambush, and cuts off the greatest part of their army, ib. over-runs the country, but is at last prevailed on to agree to a truce, 136. contrives a means of breaking the agreement, 145, comes to an open rupture, and commits great ravages in Palestine, 146. grants a new truce, 148. receives Jerusalem upon surrender, 167. befieges Tyre, but without fuccels, 170, turns his arms against the principality of Antioch, 174. his death, 194. SeSalech, fon of Camel, fultan of Egypt, refules to accept a ranfom for the captive hospitaliers and templars, vol. i. page 295.

Sulguez, his family held in angular veneration by the

Turcomanni, i. 15.

Sachan, queen of Arragon, founds a monaltery for nuns hospitallers at Sixienne, i. 180. retires thither herfelf, 181

Sanguesse, (the chevalier) appointed governor of Tripoli, iii. 301. confirmed in his employment by the grand master of Malta, iv. 2. grants a peace to the puring infidels, and opens a free trade, ibid. liph of Egypt, ravages the country of Judæa, dispossessed of his dignity, 111. reinstated by Noradin, 112, et feq. enters into a league with the king of Jerusalem, 113. calls in Noradin to his affiftance against the Christians who invaded Egypt, 121. is affaffinated by order of Siracon the general of Noradin's army, 124.

Scanderbeg, fon to John Castriot king of Albania, 258. his education, ii. 258. puts a stop to the conquests of Amurath II. 259. makes himself master of Albania.

260. is victorious against Amurath, ibid.

Selim, youngelt fon to Bajazet II. causes his father to be poisoned, ascends the throne, iii. 141. procures his two brothers, with their wives and children, to be strangled, ib. declares war against Ismael king of Persia, defeats him, and takes the city of Tauris, ib. advances against the fultan Gauri, and destroys the empire of the Mamelukes, ib. makes great preparations against Rhodes, 142. his death. ibid.

Sigefmund, king of Hungary, applies to the pope for fuccours against Bajazet, ii. 173. a league formed in his favours, 176. undertakes the fiege of Nicopolus.

178. is defeated by the Turks, 183.

Simeon, the Greek patriarch, lays open the milery and weakness of the Grecian empire, i. 17.

Simiane, (the chevalier de) his behaviour at the fiege of Malta, death and character, v. 25.

Sinan, Solyman's general, lands the Turkish fleet in Malta, vol. iv. page 134. declines the fiege of the castle of St. Angelo, but is prevailed on by Dragut to march against the town of Malta, 136. lays aside his defign of belieging it, 143. bends all his endeavours against Tripoli, ibid. takes and plunders the isle of Goza, 144. sets sail from thence for Tripoli, 146. lands at Tachora, 147. summons the garrison of Tripoli to furrender, 148. detains d'Aramon the French ambaffador, who had been fent by the grand master of Malta, to folicit him to raise the siege, 151. enters into a treaty or capitulation governour, 157. breaks the treaty agreed uses the governor roughly, 160. becomes the town, 163. lays the knights-in irons, who are ransomed by d'Aramon the French embassador. 164, et feq.

Siracon, chief captain to Noradia, restores Sannar to the sultanship of Egypt, i. 112. marches against Amaury king of Jerusalem, 122. causes Sannar to be off-sinated in his came, 124. dies ibid

be affassinated in his camp, 124. dies, ibid.

Smyrna, besieged by Tamerlane, and defended by the knights of Rhodes, ii. 194. an account of the siege by Cherefeddin Ali, a contemporary historian, 197. taken, 201.

Soliman de Rovenidden, sultan of Iconium, lays waste

Armenia, i. 222.

Solyman 1. eldest fon of Archanes, his conquests, ii.

155.

Solyman II. fon to Selim, succeeds him in the throne, iii. 142. sends a strong army against Gazelles, governor of Syria, who had revolted upon the death of Selim, 143. is victorious over him, 144. determines to make war upon the knights of Rhodes, his character, ibid. lays siege to Belgrade, and takes it, 145. different opinions concerning the war with Rhodes, 146. which however is at last resolved upon, 147. his letters to Villiers de l'Isle Adam, grand master of Rhodes, 154. sends a declaration of war to the grand master, 174. comes in person to the siege of Rhodes.

Rhodes, and puts aftop to the murmurings of the janizaries, vol. iii. p. 180. carries on the fiege with vigour, 182, et feq. holds a council of war, and agrees to a general affault, 196, et feq. not meeting with success, orders his general to be flain, but at length yields to the intercession of his friends, and pardons him, 202. feems resolved to raise the siege, but by a letter from d'Amaral is encouraged to continue it, 203. shuts himself up for some days in his tent, without suffering any of his officers to come near him, through vexation at his loffes, 216. fummons the place to furwith offers of advantageous conditions, 221. he propolition of a truce, and fires again town, 223. makes himself master of it by capholation, 224. treats the grand mafter with respect, 228. obliges the Latin bishop to leave the island, 235. scizes upon Tunis, and is acknowledge ed as their fovereign, iv. 40. declares war against the Venetians, 78. succours Buda, 79. orders all the Corlairs of his dominions to submit to Dragut, after the death of Barbarossa, 102. at his solicitation, makes powerful armaments against the order, 120,et seq. lift of his fleet, 125, which ravages the coast of Sicily, 131. appears off Malta, where they make fome attempts, which the valour of the chevalier de Villegagnon, and advices received, render abortive, 132, et feq. takes Goza, 144. and Tripoli, 164. vows revenge upon the knights of Malta for the defeat of his armies, and threatens to march against them in person, v. 64. turns his arms against Hungary, and ends his days at the siege of Sigeth, 69. Sourdain, nephew to Raimond, count of Tholoufe, takes Tripoli in Syria, i. 41.

Stephen, count of Blois, takes the cross, i. 23.

Suabia, (Philip duke of) leads the German troops to the fiege of Acre, upon the death of his father the emperor Frederick, i. 185. marries Irene, fifter to Alexis Comnenus, 210.

Sueta, (the caltle of) belieged by fultan Noradin, i. 99. Susa, belieged by the marquis of Terra Nova, iv. 72.

Therelane, great cham of Tartary, folicited by the emperor Manuel to oppose the incursions of Bajazer, vol. ii. p. 185. advances against him, as he was besieging Constantinople, 187. his original, 188. attacks Sebaste, and carries it by storm, 189, et seq. comes to an engagement with Bajazet, deseats his army, and takes him prisoner, 191. the manner of his treatment, 192. makes war upon the knights of Rhodes, and lays siege to Sinyrna, 195. and takes it, 201. his retirement into his own country, and death.

Tancred de Hauteville, a Norman lord, settles

i. 24.

Templars, the institution of their order, i. 56. are verey serviceable in their defence of pilgrims, ib. their behaviour at the fiege of Ascalon, 84. their manner of life, 97. fuffer in their reputation by countenance ing an act of Barbarity, 133. come to a misunderflanding with the hospitallers, 140. their courage at death, 163. their power, 204. dilagree with the hofpitallers, 205. their differences compoled by pope Innocent, 206. oppose the prolongation of a truce with the infidels, 220. are in a state of war with the hospitallers, 281. call in the sultans of Damascus and Edessa to their assistance against the Corasmins, and are defeated, 286. attempt to redeem their captive brethren from the hands of the Saracens, but without fuccess, 294. their constancy under the persecution of Bendocdar, 200, forced to leave the holy land, 331. obtain the town of Limisso from the king of Cyrus for a place of retreat, ii. 2. charged with various crimes, 62. the utter extinction of the order, 84. their effects given to the order of the hofpitallers, 88.

Theodore, king of the leffer Armenia, enters into ah

alliance with the Latin princes, i. 128.

Theodorick, prior of the hospitallers of Clerkenwell in London, sets out with an army for the holy land, i. 271. Thibaud V. king of Navarre, undertakes an expedition into the Holy Land at the head of a crusade, and makes a truce with the infidels, vol. i. page 282.

Thierri, grand preceptor of the templars, writes a circular letter to the brothers of his order, after the battle of Tiberias, i. 165. gives an account of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladine to Henry king of England, 169.

Thomas, the lawful successor in the kingdom of the Ar-

menians, is expelled the country, i. 128.

Thomas Palaologus, despote of Morea, sells his dominione the order of St. John, ii. 185. gives back part

price, and returns to Sparta, 186.

The solo of the solo of the solo of Malta by the emperor, and is opposed by pope Clement VIII. iv. 13. obtains a bull for his promotion of pope Paul III. 18.

Thoron, (Humph. de) constable of Jerusalem, confers the order of knighthood upon Saladine, i. 114. raifes the siege of Arach, 120.

Tiberius, belieged and carried by Saladine, i. 160.

Togrulbeg, general of the Turcomanni, his character and conquests, i. 15.

Tripoli, described, iii. 265. besieged by the Turks,

150.

Turcomarni, conquer Palestine, and commit great ravages, i. 15.

Turcopolier, the title, whence derived, i. 160. Tyre, erected into an archbishoprick, i. 53.

raye, a rai dhees back da Barks dra a dha a sha coma la Nambra da ta dhees waxay adquatariya ada ada she car-

Vatacius, constituted emperor of the Greeks, vol. i. page 278. his power and abilities, 279.

Ubaldina, an hospital nun, her piety and virtues, i. 218. Velasquez, (Diego) defends Calatrava against the Moors, i. 96.

Vitri, (James de) bishop of Acre, to be regarded as an original historian, i. 37.

Villiers del'Isle-Adam, commands the vessels of the or-

der of Rhodes against the fleet of the sultan of Egypt, vol. iii. page 133. gains a victory over them, 135. ex lected grand mafter, 148. fets out for Rhodes, and, after the danger of being destroyed by fire and tempest, lands safe at Syracuse, 150. arrives at Rhodes. 151, et seq. answers the grand seignior's letters, 155. 157. causes repair and augment the fortifications of the city, and charges the commissaries to make the preparations necessary for a siege, 158, et seg, causes raile 500 men in Candia, 160. fortifies the city by the directions of Gabriel Martinengo, to whom he gives the crofs, and a pention, 163, et f the affiftance of the christian princes, but cess, 165. reviews his men, which are n of 6000, 166. gives the charge of the principal parts of the town to his chief officers, 170, orders the knights to prepare for the fiege by falting and prayer. 175. his vigilance in the defence, 177, et feq. fupplies the foldiers with powder in an extraordinary manner, 188. drives the Turks from the breach, as they were entering the town, 101. discovers the treason of the Jewish physician, who had settled at Rhodes as a spy for the Turks, 195. visits all the quarters of the town, and exhorts them to a vigorous defence, 197. drives the Turks from the baltion they had feized, 201. never stirs from the intrenchment on the Spanish bastion for four and thirty days, nor fleeps, except on a matrefs, 206. is disappointed of the fuccours he expected from the princes of Europe, 212. drives back the Turks from the town in disorder, 215. agrees to a negociation with the enemy, 220, furrenders the town upon capitulation, 244, et seg. is visited by the grand seignior, 228. quits Rhodes, 229. arrives at Candia with the diftreffed remains of the order, 233. repairs his ships and deligns for Italy, 236, notifies his purpose to the pope by an embassador, ibid. obtains a bull to oblige all the knights of the order to continue in a body under his authority, 238. arrives at Gallipoli, in the territories of Naples, ibid, and at last in the port

port of Messina, where he meets the poor remains of the order, vol. iii. page 230. is complimented by the viceroy of Sicily, and offered the town of Mellina for a retreat, 240. his first care is to provide for the lick and wounded, whom he attends upon in person, ib. makes a fevere enquiry into the negligence of the knights who were employed to procure aid from Europe, ibid. calls a general affembly of the order. lays before them the pope's bull, and advises them to continue together, 244. a plague breaking out at Messina, he reimbarks with his knights, and lands ny in the gulph of Baiæ, 245. dispatches the de Chevriere to Rome to desire an audience pope, 246. comes to Rome, and is kindly received by the pope, 248. upon the death of pope Adrian, entrusted with the guard of the conclave, 249. expresses his satisfaction in the election of pope Clement VII. 252. relates the story of the siege of Rhodes before the pope and cardinals in a full confiftory, and draws tears from the affembly, 253, has the first place after the pope in public processions. 254. fends an embaffy to the emperor, 256. refolves to recover Rhodes, 258. dispatches certain Rhodian merchants upon the undertaking, 260. fends the commander Bosio to Rhodes to facilitate the enterprife, 261. refolves to vifit the emperor in person. with a view to obtain of him the illes of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, with the more case for the order, 269. lays before his imperial majesty an account of the fiege and furrender of Rhodes, and obtains a promise of the isle of Malta for the settlement of the knights, 272. makes a visit to Francis I. king of France, then prisoner at Madrid, 272, acts as a mediator between the emperor and the king of France, ibid. and procures a peace, 275. takes his leave of the emperor, with fresh assurances of the illand of Malta, 276. puts an end to the dispute relating to the priory of Crato, ibid. fets out for England, and is graciously received by Henry VIII. 278. returns into Italy, 283. is fensibly afflicted at the YOL, V. Hh pope's

pope's imprisonment, vol. iii. page 284. has his heart fixed upon the recovery of Rhodes, and writes to the Greek metropolitan Euthymius about the method of executing his delign, 289. calls a general chapter, and exhorts them to be unanimous in the choice of a port for the future relidence of the order. 290. follicits the pope to use his credit with the emperor for fettling the order in Malta upon eafier conditions than his highness demanded, 296, the emperor yields to the pope's entreaties, and grants the ifles of Malta and Goza, and the town of T a fief-noble to the order, 208. the grand ries on the correspondence of Modon, 200 ures a confirmation of the emperor's grant from me pope, 300. meets with new difficulties in relation to the exportation of corn out of Sicily, and the coining of money, 301. gets over these two articles by the pope's mediation, 305. arrives with his knights in the great port of Malta, and makes his first settlement in the caftle of St. Augelo, 306, builds houses for the knights, 308. vifits Goza and Tripoli, iv. r. endeavours to furprife Modon, 4. the delign miscarries, 12, turns all his thoughts upon the fortification of Malta, 17. orders the inhabitants to take up arms, to repel the expected invalion of Barbaroffa, captain of the Barbarian corfairs, 23. holds a general chapter, in which he makes divers regulations, 24, et feq. is extremely afflicted on account of a private quarrel arisen among the knights, 25, et seq. other causes of his forrow, which occasioned his death, 28. his character, 32.

Urban V. (pope) approves of the enterprise on Alexandria, ii. 149. that pope's remarkable confession

of his faith at his death, 150.

Urban VI. chosen pope by the violence of the Bannerets, ii. 175. maintains himself in the chair by the same means, 176. a schism between him and Clement VII elected at Fundi by the cardinals, when set at liberty, 177. satal consequences of that division, 178, et seq.

Uffum-

Uljum-Caffan, king of Perlia, enters into a league with the princes of Europe against Mahomet II. vol. ii. page 30, et feq. is follicited by Mahomet to abandon his new allies, 31.

W

William, bilhop of Acre, fent into Europe to follicit a new crusade, i. 127.

William, archbishop of Tyre, dispatched into the well to procure aid against the insidels, i. 175. prevails by hometoric, 176.

William I. count of Holland, arrives in the Holy Land with a confiderable fleet of Germans, Frieslanders and Dutch, i. 242.

William de Chateauneuf, elected grand mafter of the order of St. John, i. 308. his care in the discharge of his office, 309. his death, 311.

William de Villaret, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, ii. 13. gives the habit and cross of the order to several young ladies of quality, 20. dies, 38.

Z

Zabulon, (the bishop of) dispatched into Europe to follicit a second crusade, vol. i. page 72.

Zara, invested and taken, i. 210.

Zael, king of Valentia, surrenders the country to the

king of Arragon, i. 272.

Zizim, fon to Mahomet II. upon his father's death lays claim to the crown, iii. 77. seizes upon part of his dominions, and waits the coming up of his brother's forces to oppose him, 79. is defeated by Achmet, the general of Bajazet's army, 80. slies into Egypt, 81. retires from thence, and throws himself into the protection of the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, 82. is defeated in a second battle, 84. hardly escapes, ibid. takes refuge in Rhodes, 87. is kindly received by the grand master and knights, ibid. departs thence for France, at the instance of the grand master, 91. arrives safe on the coasts of Provence, 97. is resuled an interview with the king

I'N DEX

grand master's treaty with Bajazet with the highest expression of grief and passion, 99. is sent to Rome, 103. and favourably received by pope Innocent VIII. 106. the king of France interests himself in his affairs, ibid. oppressed with a new series of calamities upon Innocent's death, and imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, 108. poisoned by order of pope Aylexander VI. 112.

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Mula, his bibes of difference late Europe to lettich a fecord crutade, vol. i. regelyt. Zere, invested and taken, 1, 210, 2 we will also Zeek king of Viscolar threaders the country to the Line of Armword, avg. Zeras, long Millemet II, upon like Miller's death land claims of the crown, iti. 77, dias become part of his dominioner and water the coming to just in eches a forces to of our blue your Wildered by Achier, the general of the course army by the through the breight parishishid expendence, sand our conservations. 13 The the soding main enough that to see the angular cie 2 % la debigiod la adeceme cultie, Sa. Lundly al. which a st described in against a war shift reagant established and and both at hear being offered bestman admin terminal parties of the contract of the contract of the one is a second of the or the go . Then being process on a chief in lateral to the thing the fact